MEMOIRS

OF HIS HIGHNESS

SHRI SHAHU CHHATRAPATI

MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR.

BY

A. B. LATTHE.

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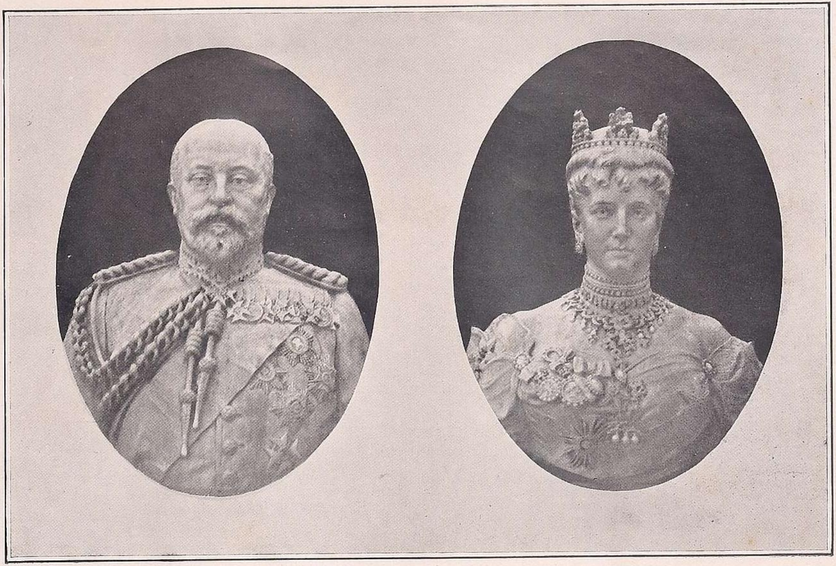

Busts of Their Majesties King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.

CHAPTER XVII.

From 1911 to 1914.

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THE death of King Edward VII cast a gloom over the Empire in 1911. His Highness had attended His Majesty's Coronation, and had come in personal touch with the King. Naturally he felt great regard for the personality of the great Peace-Maker and lamented his death deeply. At his instance, a movement was started to raise a fitting memorial to his reign. His Highness attended the public meeting in the Town Hall which was presided over by Colonel Wodehouse. The meeting decided to collect subscriptions which amounted to over thirty-two thousand rupees and the Edward Agricultural Institution was main tained out of the interest-proceeds of the Fund. His High ness helped the Institution from the State Revenues. As a mark of his personal regard for the King-Emperor, he ordered statue-busts of Their Majesties—the King and the Queen—which as we shall see were unveiled by His Excellency Lord Willingdon in 1913. Unfortunately the same statue was

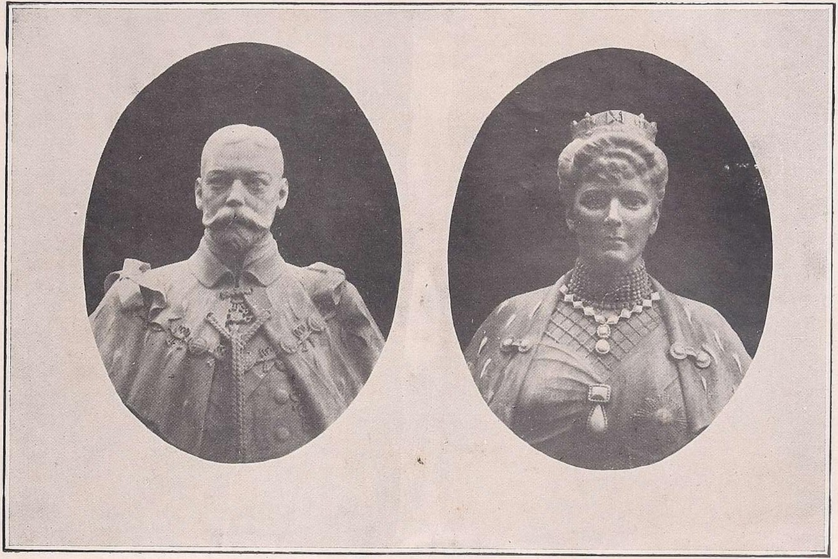
tarred by some unknown criminal in February 1914 and had to be subsequently replaced. The triangular garden in front of the Chief Court in Kolhapur was already adorned by the Chhatri of the late Queen Victoria the Good. The busts of her two sons, King Edward and the Duke of Connaught, with their consorts, and of her grandson, the present King-Emperor, with his royal consort, Queen Mary, were added to this little garden, making it a garden of royal statues in Kolhapur.

His Highness did not attend the new King's coronation in England. A keen friend of his (F.) wrote to him in a loving but chiding tone on July 14th 1911 :—

"I am very sorry you did not come home for the coronation; it was so important that you should have been before the public here. There was no representative of the Bombay Chiefs as Gondal scarcely counts and the Gaikwad is under another Government. Your Highness made such an impression on so many who saw you at the last coronation and I was so frequently asked why you did not attend this one. People seemed to think it was because you were not allowed and would not believe me when I said it was only because you did not care to incur the expense of a trip to England as well as Delhi. All your great loyalty is hidden by your keeping it to yourself instead of letting the masses see you as Pratap, Gwalior, Baroda and Bikaner do."

But the more probable reason seems to be that the pressing work which he had now on hand, involving much worry and anxiety, prevented him from undertaking a long journey and a long absence from Kolhapur which would have been consequently necessary. An opportunity to pay his respects to the new King, however, offered itself soon as the King decided to visit Delhi and personally to announce his accession to the Throne to the Princes and people of India.

His Excellency the Governor-General and Viceroy of India by a Kharita, dated 29th April 1911, invited His Highness



Busts of Their Majesties King George and Queen Mary.

to the Royal presence at Delhi on the auspicious occasion of the Imperial Darbar and the invitation was gratefully accepted by His Highness. His Highness left for Delhi on the 27th November 1911 by a special train accompanied by his Jahagirdars, Sardars, officers and other retinue; and halting at Poona and Bhopal, he reached Delhi on the 30th November 1911. At Bhopal His Highness and party were cordially received by the Revenue Minister of Bhopal under the direction of Her Highness the Begumsaheb. His Highness and party were comfortably accommodated in tents specially pitched in the vicinity of the Station yard. While at Delhi His Highness attended the various functions arranged in connection with the Imperial Darbar and had the rare honour and gratification of paying his homage to His Majesty the King-Emperor at the great Imperial Darbar.

On the occasion of the great Imperial Darbar held at Delhi on the 12th December 1911, His Imperial Majesty King-Emperor George V was graciously pleased to confer upon His Highness the most eminent honour of G.C.I.E. The people of Kolhapur were so glad to see their Maharaja so worthily honoured by the Emperor that they gave him on his return home a reception which was unexcelled in its cordiality as well as enthusiasm.

His Highness commemorated this historic Darbar at Delhi, so unique in the history of British connection with India, by starting in Kolhapur the "Coronation Patils' School," which laid the foundations of one of the most daring reforms which he introduced in later years in the administration of his State. In the village organisation of the Deccan, the Patil is the hereditary headman. By his position as the official head of the village and by his being the natural leader of its inhabitants, he usually belongs to one of the most numerous agricultural castes in the place and he deserves to be the most influential and honoured leader of the village community. Most great men of the Mahratta Nation—

Brahmins alone excluded—in historic times have risen from this Patil class. Even after attaining a status of far greater eminence and wealth than that of any Patil in the country they were proud to call themselves and to be called Patils. The great Madhavrao Scindia, of historical fame, always insisted on his being called a Patil. That indicates the honour given to that name by all classes of the population in the Deccan. But the age of peace and the intricate administrative machinery brought into India by the British have deprived the Patils of a part of their outstanding influence and the less worthy but more literate and intriguing Kulkarni, the hereditary writer of the village accounts, has been pushing himself forward at the cost of his headman, the Patil. Some of the non-Brahmin leaders in Kolhapur had, therefore, realised the importance of giving the Patils a lift by educating them to their responsibilities. Under His Highness' encouragement, they started at first a private class in the Jain Hostel where several non-Brahmins taught the younger Patils of the State their official duties with occasional instructions to them in respect of their public duties as the leaders of their villages. The "Coronation Patils' School" was the adoption of this idea by His Highness who put it on a permanent basis by making it the State memorial of a historic occasion. The official description of this school in 1913 is as follows :—

"This is a special school opened in 1913* to impart instruction to the sons of hereditary village officers in accordance with the provisions of the Vatan Act. The principal object of this institution is to fit the Patil for the efficient discharge of his duties and to make him independent of the Kulkarni, who always takes advantage of his illiteracy and uses him as a tool in his hands. The school teaches such subjects as are of special importance to the Patil and an

* This is the year of the school's setting to work actually, though its inauguration had been announced on the Delhi Durbar Day.

annual Examination is held by a committee to test the students; and certificates are granted to successful candidates.

The school was attended by 22 students during the year against 34 last year. This year the attendance was not regular owing to prevalence of plague in the Kolhapur city for more than six months."

The standing complaint of the Deccan village in modern times is the intrigue of the Kulkarni and men of his type. We shall have to deal with this subject at greater length when we reach 1919, the year which saw the Kulkarni wiped out as an official in the Kolhapur State. But here we see one of the ways in which the ground was being slowly prepared. The training of the Patil to his duties is, perhaps, the most effective way to counteract the mischievous influence of the Kulkarni. Not that the Patil is a saint or, at any rate, a person immune from the tendencies to corruption which every clever man surrounded by an ignorant mob naturally develops. The point, however, is that the Patil is generally a man of the people in the village and has much more genuine sympathies with the ryots among whom he is the first. Still more important is it to note that when he is educated to his duties, he becomes another trained man in the village whose duty it is to see how the otherwise *one* man in the village does his work. The monopoly of official records and secrets, which a Kulkarni with an ignorant Patil as his superior colleague has, is broken. That is the great gain to the whole village. His Highness fully realised these bearings of the Patil education question and hence arose his interest in this school and its association with an event of such unique importance. Another step in the same direction was taken in August 1913 when His Highness allowed Maratha candidates to appear for the Kulkarni Examination and fit themselves for the work, should necessity arise for their services being utilised.

He took another bold step in May 1911. The parading of the Vyasantol by the Lingayats of the Karnatak has exercised the minds of that community and its rivals of the Brahmin caste for over a century. The Government has had its full share of the anxieties arising out of the menacing attitude of the Brahmin sect who threatened a breach of the peace as often as the Lingayats attempted to hold the Vyasantol procession. The Vaishnava objection was based on the allegation that the parading of the Vyasantol (literally the arm of the Puranic Sage Vyas) was an insult to that sage for having written the praise of god Vishnu. The Lingayats, on the contrary, contended that they paraded that symbolic arm out of reverence for it and only because the sage himself had prayed Shiva to allow the fallen arm with which he had written a poem extolling Vishnu at the cost of Shiva to be tied to the flag. The intention is obvious. But in a country full of faiths, sects and castes—each believing in tenets and stories which the other disbelieved and sometimes even detested—it is impossible to live in peace and harmony without all of them learning to practise toleration for the beliefs of one another. An attempt to adjudicate in a Court of Law what may and what may not be allowed must necessarily end in the disappointment of one class or another. Under the more powerful influence of the Brahmins, the British administrators in the Karnatak had been persistently refusing to the Lingayats the practice of parading Vyasantol for nearly a century. Just about the time that the question cropped up in Kolhapur, the Bombay Government—again under the Brahmanical influence—had issued an order—subsequently declared by the Bombay High Court to be *ultra vires*—forbidding the Vyasantol in the whole of the neighbouring District of Belgaum and that for all times to come. A ruinously costly and vexatious litigation followed and was still occupying the attention of the British Law Courts. Under these circumstances, the Maha-

raja was approached for permission for the Vyasantol parade in connection with the procession of the high priest or the Jagadguru of the Lingayats, who had his headquarters in Mysore which—Brahmin-ridden as it had long been—had also prohibited that emblem. His Highness saw that the only justification for this prohibition was that the influence of the Brahmins who wished to put down everything that they disapproved had been so long triumphing against the legitimate right of the Lingayats to carry on what they believed to be an essential rite of their religion ; and despite what Mysore and Bombay had chosen to do against them, His Highness allowed the parade which to the great joy of that community in the Karnatak was held with due pomp on May 12, 1911, in Kolhapur City without a finger being raised by any one of those who had been so seriously threatening a breach of the peace. The Lingayat procession was attended by the Risala and the band of the Maharaja who also honoured their high priest with a visit to him at his residence. I may say here in passing that since this took place in Kolhapur, the authorities in Belgaum also have changed their view and allowed the Vyasantol processions in several places like Athni, Munoti, Yagathi and others.

This was a period of many honours to the State. Shrimant Bapusaheb had been doing excellent service to the State in many ways. His supervision over the Maharani Laxmi Bai Tank at Dajipur was the latest and the most important of them. The Government gave a signal proof of its appreciation of these services by conferring the title of C.S.I. on him on New Year's Day. He was further admitted to the 'membership' of the Order of the British Empire later on. The Maharaja was given, as we have seen before, the G.C.I.E. on the Darbar Day. Two years later, I might add here, Rao Bahadur Sabnis was decorated with a C.I.E. A year later, in 1915, His Highness was made an Honorary Colonel of the 103 Maratha Light Infantry. The status of the Darbar

was appreciably raised by the British representative at Kolhapur becoming a Resident, instead of as hitherto a Political Agent, from August of 1911. Colonel F. W. Wodehouse thus had the proud privilege of becoming the first Resident in the Court of the Chhatrapati. The Jahagirdar of Ichalkaranji—allowed to be designated a Chief by the courtesy of the Maharaja and merely during the life time of the present Chief—tried to avoid the order of withdrawal of the special powers conferred upon him; but he was not allowed to do so. This would be fittingly described in the words of the Official Report itself:—

"The fact of the withdrawal of additional powers in the criminal matters bestowed on the Jahagirdar of Ichalkaranji has been mentioned in para. 21 of Chapter I of the last Annual Administration Report. The Darbar in exercise of its powers as High Court over the Jahagirdar Courts sent for papers in certain cases and called for periodical returns. The Jahagirdar objected to the Darbar's orders in the matter which were concurred in by the Resident, and memorialised the Government of Bombay, praying that the Resident be asked to write to the Darbar that they cannot ask for the papers and returns of criminal cases in his Jahagir. The Government, in rejecting the memorial, were pleased to observe that 'since the withdrawal on the 13th January 1910 of the exemption from the High Court supervision of the Kolhapur Darbar, the Darbar exercises the powers of a High Court over the Ichalkaranji Jahagir, and that Government do not, therefore, see any occasion to advise the Kolhapur Darbar as requested or to interfere with the exercise of the powers unquestionably vested in His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.'

The Jahagirdar of Kagal junior also had raised a question in regard to the extent of powers and propriety of the exercise by the Kolhapur Darbar of the supervision of a High Court in criminal matters in his Jahagir, and carried it to the

Colonel W. B. Wodehouse, C. I. E., the first Resident of Kolhapur.

Bombay Government for decision. In disposing of the representation, the Government were pleased to observe that 'since the 14th November 1904, when the Kolhapur Darbar assumed, with the approval of Government, all the powers of High Court over their feudatories, the full residuary jurisdiction exercised by a High Court over its Subordinate Magistrate has vested in the Darbar.'"

The Jahagirdar of Ichalkaranji did not derive from this incident the appropriate deduction. But this step and the friendly advice of the Resident were not and could not be entirely lost. He wisely borrowed from the Bombay Government the services of a Prabhu gentleman, Mr. R. M. Deshpande of the Secretariat, and invested him with the powers of a Karbhari of his Jahagir. And this done, he renewed his efforts to be restored to the powers withdrawn from him in 1910. In May of 1914, he wrote to the Maharaja :—

"It is more than four years since my higher criminal powers were withdrawn. I have done my level best to deserve the restoration of them ; and since the coming here of Rao Bahadur Deshpande, I feel I have to a great extent succeeded in securing the confidence of the Darbar and of the Residency. The matter now entirely rests with Your Highness and things could be righted at once if Your Highness would only wish to do so. The present humiliating situation is causing great administrative inconvenience and my own health has suffered much by the sense of my mortification. Mr. Deshpande and myself have repeatedly made request in this behalf to Your Highness. I shall now feel very grateful if Your Highness could see your way to remove the stigma upon me as soon as possible, for which favour I shall feel ever grateful to Your Highness."

Though this suggested a completely wholesome change of attitude, His Highness could not reconcile it with some of the activities of the Jahagirdar. In the first place, he was doing his best to win the influence of the Government on his

side presumably with the object of bringing it to bear upon the decision of His Highness. But the Government did not seem to be inclined to use its influence in the manner he wished In September 1914, the Government clearly intimated to His Highness that their own attitude towards the question was one of perfect neutrality. His Highness was willing to bury the past and cultivate relations of amity with the Jahagirdar. "I found out from his new secretary," says His Highness, "that he had set his heart on the hereditary title of 'Pant Sachiv.' His forefathers had tried to get it but did not succeed. Even the Chief of Bhor coveted it. I thought if I bestowed this honour on him, it would be a means of winning him over to goodwill and make him friendly to Government and myself. I therefore conferred the title upon him . . . Some of his Police Officers came into a scrape over a criminal matter and were prosecuted. The Jahagirdar was afraid that his prestige might suffer and his Police lose all influence if the case against them went on. I took the opportunity of meeting his wishes and had the whole thing satisfactorily arranged." But nothing availed. The Jagagirdar went on in his old way. In 1917, again, the Jahagirdar renewed his request and His Highness at last yielded to his requests by restoring the withdrawn powers to Ichalkaranji and Vishalgad.

The non-Brahmin educational work was proceeding apace. The opening of the Namdeo Hostel in April 1911 and that of the Saraswatibai Saraswat Hostel in May 1915 may be cited to illustrate the character of this work. The latter institution is particularly notable as being intended for one of the Brahmin sub-castes which had for generations been receiving unjust treatment from the other Brahmin castes. The depressed classes Hostel was making rapid progress. Just like His Highness, Colonel Wodehouse also took very keen interest in the uplift of the so-called untouchables and the society for the promotion of education among

them was making good headway in Kolhapur. The main object of the society, as the Report read at its annual meeting in the Chaturbai Hall of the Jain Hostel in April 1912 stated, was "to create a batch of educated, liberalised leaders among the depressed classes themselves." "But something," says the Report, "ought to be done for the vast masses of these unhappy people who are steeped in limitless ignorance. The work can only be undertaken by the State; but private agencies might do a great deal of useful work by guiding the boys' parents in the direction of education. By infusing in them a love of higher life than they live, by encouraging the boys themselves to attend State schools, by evoking the sympathies of the teaching profession to treat their pupils of the untouchable classes with affection and tenderness, by reporting to the proper authorities of the State the defects in the management of their special schools and by various other ways, private bodies like this society . . . . can supplement the State efforts to impart education to these classes," and, we might add, can prepare the ground for such large measures of reform as the Maharaja was soon going to take for the amelioration of these classes. The Hostel was permanently located in a nice building in 1914 and His Highness contributed half its cost. In reviewing the work of the Society, Colonel Wodehouse observed :—

"With such enthusiastic workers as Professor Latthe and Mr. Dongre and others, I feel sure that this work will progress; but this work is very difficult for such gentlemen who have other work to do and it will be a very great pity if the educated public of Kolhapur do not accord a hearty support to this most deserving Society."

The appeal fell on deaf ears. All that noble work which Kolhapur did as a result of this spade-work was due to the manful espousal of the Depressed Classes cause by His Highness the Maharaja himself. The Brahmins always remained unmoved, some of the non-Brahmins gave vent to

their jealousies—a sad development in Kolhapur during these years—by trying to pull down the work done by their supposed rivals, and after they had gone one after another, the Society languished a great deal.

Though such difficulties arose to impede the progress of the work, there was no doubt that the progress was never arrested by such causes. In the Rajaram High School, for instance, out of 507 boys then reading—I take 1911 as the year which completed the first decennium—156 were Marathas (including the allied castes), 35 were Jains, 14 were Lingayats, 26 were Mahars or Untouchables, 10 were Mussalmans and 3 included Christians and Parsees. Thus the non-Brahmins were nearly 50 per cent. of the students in the High School. Compared with the numerical strength of their respective communities, this was far from being as yet satisfactory. But when compared with the past, the change was decisively for the better.

All this time, His Highness was engaged in thinking out the plans for the future. The idea of universalising primary education in his State dawned upon him in 1912-13. The Report for 1912-13 explains the original idea thus :—

"The Education Department continues to receive the special attention of His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja. In no other department has his liberality been more conspicuous. Notwithstanding the efforts that are being made for the spread of education among the backward classes, the progress hitherto made is not considered satisfactory by His Highness. With a view, therefore, to accelerate the pace, His Highness has thought it necessary to broaden the foundations and make primary education accessible to all. His Highness has, therefore, been pleased to order that every village in the State should have a school conducted by a person of the caste to which the majority of the villagers belong. In order to induce suitable persons to do the work, His Highness thinks it necessary to have the school masters

in the list of the hereditary village servants holding alienated land for the performance of their duties. To work out the scheme, His Highness is pleased to appoint a committee with Meherban Pirajirao Ghatge, C.S.I., C.I.E., Jahagirdar of Kagal, Senior, at its head. He is His Highness' right-hand man, ever ready and willing to help him in carrying out improvement in all branches of the administration."

The scheme was formulated in the early months of 1913, but did not make much progress until the end of the year. I was then the Educational Inspector of the State and thought that the hereditary scheme was not likely to succeed. I was, therefore, removed—and rightly so, for I had little faith in the hereditary system—from the committee. So far as I am aware, the plan of alienating lands to the school masters had to be dropped and the Compulsory Education Scheme of later years proceeded on the basis of employing stipendiary school masters.

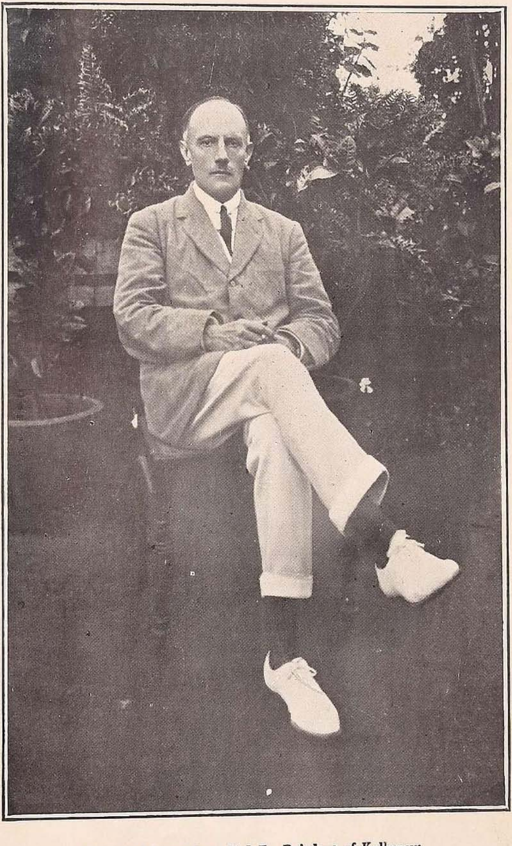
Two events of great domestic importance took place about this time. The marriage of the Maharaja's niece, the eldest daughter of Shrimant Bapusaheb, was celebrated on 28th April 1912 with the same ceremony as that of his own daughter in 1908. Immediately after the marriage, the bride, now Her Highness the Raneesaheb of Akalkote, had to leave her parental home under the care of Miss Moxon. Soon after, Her Highness Sakwarbai Raneesaheb, the grand-mother of the Maharaja, lay on her death-bed and the Maharaja repeatedly wired to Miss Moxon to send the little Princess to see her great-grand-mother. Incongruity of western manners with those of India could not have been more strikingly emphasised than when the reply was that this was unnecessary, although, the reply added, "it would be a different matter if the person lying on the death-bed was her father or uncle." The grand-mother died on May 25, 1912. Being a well educated lady, she was very useful

to His Highness in his household affairs and being the eldest member of the family, she was highly respected by him. It was a deep loss to him. The obsequies were performed according to the Vedokta forms; but although the Satya Shodhak Movement had begun agitating in Kolhapur, the usual Brahmin agency was used in those performances and was followed by sumptuous dinners and fat fees for that class. A fortnight later, the Yuvaraj and his younger brother sailed for England. We shall refer to this at greater length in the next chapter.

Colonel Wodehouse having left for England on leave, Colonel Merewether occupied the Residency for the last six months of 1912. His Highness found a great friend in him and named the new Cricket Pavilion after him. In requesting him to open it, His Highness described his own feeling towards him in these words :—

"It is nearly twenty years, Colonel Merewether, that I have had the pleasure of knowing you. I quite remember the time when you were here as Second-in-Command and used to encourage us in different sports. Our acquaintance, then commenced, has now ripened into friendship and as a small token of my regard in all manly games and sports, I requested you a few years back kindly to allow this Cricket Pavilion to be named after you and your portrait to be placed therein. You were good enough to grant the permission . . . .

You have not been very long here as Resident, but during that short time, allow me to say, you have endeared yourself to everyone by your courtesy and sympathy and the affairs of this part of the country have been going on most smoothly and satisfactorily. You will of course in due course of time return to us as permanent Resident and Political Agent and I trust that in the meanwhile you will continue to keep alive your interest in Kolhapur and Southern Mahratta Country States."



Colonel Merewether, C. I. E., Reisdent of Kolhapur.

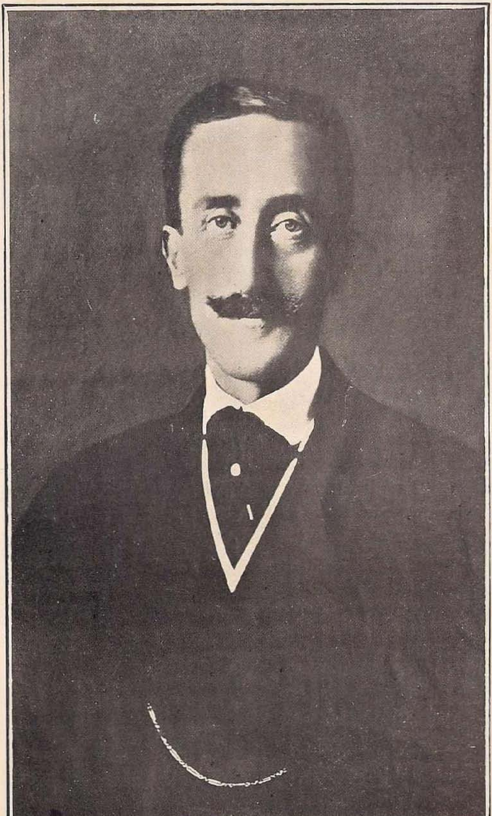
This friendship stood the Maharaja'a son, the present Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaja, in good stead when Providence willed it that he should succeed to the Gadi. His new Highness, I might add in passing, has planned another memorial to the Colonel in the form of a Market in his Capital.

On 23rd May 1913, His Highness declared all Inams in his State impartible. This was, of course, a large and radical change, which would not have been possible or, at any rate, so easy under any but an autocratic form of Government. Apart from that, however, the step was a right and beneficial one. Though, as a rule, all properties in India are partible and have, according to Hindu Law in the Deccan, vested interests in them of several persons in the family by the right of their birth therein, alienated estates in many cases are declared by British Courts to be impartible by force of prevailing customs. Looking to the object and nature of alienations which were originally made by former Kings as remuneration for services of some kind or other, it is right that the State or the public should seek to maintain those properties intact by preventing their infinite sub-division into unprofitable shares and to prevent the holders of them from becoming unable to apply the grants of these rent-free lands for the original purpose of the grantors. Primogeniture seems to have been the ideal aimed at by His Highness. Whatever the disadvantages of a sudden and sweeping change like this may be, the ideal was conducive to the best interests of all concerned. The classes which hold shares—often very small uneconomic shares—in these Inams become lazy and vain and unwilling to devote their lives to chalking out new lines of business. Tradition relates the story of a large family of these Inamdars fighting among themselves all their lives for the division of the annual fruits of a papaya tree in their backyard. The tree could not be divided and there was, therefore, an invariable crop of quarrels over the fruit which lasted till the succeeding crop was ripe. A

common friend of theirs was called to mediate. He tried his utmost to settle the difference amicably but the fight went on. When every one was sleeping, in the dead of night, the friend got up from his bed and quietly with his hatchet cut through the trunk of the tree and, going back to his room unperceived, slept late in the morning. When he awoke, he found, as he expected, that the querulous fraternity were preparing to leave their ancestral home in search of something which might give them bread. The quarrels had ceased and there was now no reason why they should rot in that place. His Highness followed the example of that friend and, having declared the Inams impartible, removed a cause which encouraged indolence and made the holder better able to perform the service for which his Inam was a return.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, paid a visit to Kolhapur on 23rd November 1913. The chief function he had to perform was the unveiling of the statue busts mentioned in the opening of this Chapter. In doing so, His Excellency said :—

"I am deeply grateful to you for the cordial welcome you have extended to me to-day, and delighted to hear that I come out at a time when you are expecting a prosperous season for your people. I have had a great wish to pay an early visit to your State, for I have been very anxious as Governor of this Presidency to express to you on behalf of Government our warm appreciation of your loyalty to, and constant and unswerving support of, British rule and authority. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me and it must, indeed, be a matter of deep pride to you to know that you and your family both in dark days in past and in more recent periods of political unrest in this Presidency have always stood firm in support of our Sovereign and his rule. Such splendid loyalty as you have always shown has never been and will never be forgotten by the British Government."



H. E. Lord Willingdon.

"I am well aware that the responsibilities of your rule have not been devoid of anxiety and difficulty, but I am sure that your administration has been just and fair and has always had as its ideal the desire for the progress and prosperity of your people. It is, indeed, gratifying to hear that Colonel Wodehouse, your Resident, has given you such excellent counsel and advice, and I believe you have been much assisted in your labours by your worthy Diwan Rao Bahadur Sabnis and also by your brother, the Chief of Kagal, whom I am glad to be able to number among my personal friends. Your interest in education is well-known and I am delighted to see that you are taking special means to give opportunities of instructions in methods of agriculture and that great scheme of irrigation which you propose to undertake testifies your real desire to improve the productivity of the soil and give greater prosperity to your people."

Another distinguished visitor to Kolhapur early in 1914 was His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore. This was the beginning of a new friendship which was full of abundant promise. The two great Maratha Princes of Upper India, Gaikwad and Scindia, were connected with Kolhapur by ties of blood. Holkar is not strictly a Maratha by caste as he belongs to the Dhanagar community. But the relation between every Chief of the Maratha Empire with the Chhatrapati family, though politically modified by circumstances, always retained and will always retain the tenderness and affection which are inseparable from the relationship between a loving liege-lord and his dutiful, though exalted, vassals. The Chhatrapati wished Holkar to bring his ancient flag with him to Kolhapur. He received him with all the honours due to his high status. Nor did the guest forget the respect which was due to his Chhatrapati family. A special Darbar was held in honour of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar at the new Palace on the 27th April 1914 where in the midist of leading Jahagirdars, Sardars and Officers,

His Highness welcomed His Highness the Maharaja Tukojirao Holkar in these words :—

"Your Highness Maharajasaheb Holkar Bahadur of Indore, Sardars, ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure on this occasion to express my feeling of gratification at the honour done me and my people by Your Highness by accepting my invitation. Your late father, His Highness Shivajirao, was an intimate friend of mine and I had the pleasure of a cordial visit from him. I am to-day overcome by feelings of thankfulness for your presence among us by which Your Highness has helped to strengthen old ties. On the present occasion of the Agricultural Exhibition which is the first of its kind which I am holding in my territory, I am extremely obliged to Your Highness for participating in the functions and in presiding at the prize distribution. The success of the Agricultural show is in no small measure due to the part Your Highness and the Maharaneesaheb have so heartily taken. During the short stay of Your Highness at Kolhapur, you and your worthy Maharanee have won the golden opinions of my subjects by the great interest taken by you in the history of this State, its art, and its agriculture, by the intelligent questions which Your Highness asked when looking over exhibits. I have to heartily congratulate Your Highness for the intelligent interest and sympathy displayed by Her Highness Maharanee Indirabai and for her appreciation of our efforts in the cause of education and specially female education. Her Highness' visit to our Girls' School and the women's Hospital and to the religious shrines in and near the capital, has given us great satisfaction. I cannot help complimenting Your Highness on Your Highness' love of manly games such as wrestling and fencing and also shikaring where Your Highness distinguished yourself in pig-sticking. The visit of Your Highness has given unbounded pleasure not only to the host, but to all his subjects as is well indicated by the immense

crowds at the station and other places. I have once more to thank Your Highness and trust our friendship may strengthen with time and that I may have an early opportunity of welcoming Your Highness and the Maharaneesaheb and the Prince Yuvaraj and the Princess."

In tones of perfect sincerity and candour, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar replied as follows :—

"Your Highness, Chief Jahagirdars, Sardars, ladies and gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness very cordially for the princely hospitality which has been shown to us, the excellent arrangements that have been made for our comfort and entertainment, and the kind words in which you have alluded to my visit here. When I received Your Highness' invitation to visit your historical capital, I accepted it as it came from a personal friend, but the feelings that prompted that decision on my part had their roots far deeper. The connections between the illustrious House of the 'Chhatrapati' and the House of Holkar are too well-known to require mention on this occasion. Though times have changed and are changing and our relations altered, yet, I, and for the matter of that every Maratha, does, whatever his position in life may be, look upon the representative of this House with loyal and affectionate regard and reverence. I received Your Highness' invitation in that spirit and came here like a man who makes a pilgrimage to pay homage to his deity and returns to his native land purified in mind and body, and I may say that I have achieved that object. I came here with fever and I go back not only without it, but stronger and in improved health. People may attribute it to your beautiful climate, but I know that it is due to the pleasure I have experienced in being under Your Highness' roof and the lavish care that has been extended on my comfort and enjoyment."

"Among the interesting things that it has been my good fortune to see here, I cannot refrain from mentioning the Agricultural Exhibition which I visited with Your Highness

and where Your Highness asked me to distribute prizes to the successful competitors. Considering that it is its first year, I think it was a great success and I hope it will be an annual event in Your Highness' State, and exercise beneficial influence on the peasantry and their methods of cultivation. I am very glad to be associated with such institutions which, thanks to the British Government, are gradually multiplying in this country."

"Wrestling matches, elephant fights and pig-sticking have also contributed greatly to my entertainment and I can assure Your Highness and Her Highness the Maharaneesaheb, that we have enjoyed every moment of our stay here and look back upon this visit with feelings of unbounded gratitude for Your Highness' generosity and kindness. I hope this visit will give a fresh lease to our old and never-to-be-broken ties and will be followed by a visit of Your Highness to my State where I shall consider it a great privilege and honour to receive you."

The exhibition mentioned above was held at the Khas-Bag Maidan from April 8 to 16, a full week during which Kolhapur was visited by thousands of Maratha peasants from all parts of the Deccan in honour of the Jothiba Fair. In 1914, the exhibition was opened by Mr. Robertson, the Political Secretary, and the prizes, as we have seen, were awarded by His Highness of Indore.

Inspired by a sense of ancestor-worship which was a dominant trait in His Highness' character, His Highness requested Colonel Wodehouse to secure for him a plot of ground at Karachi, where he wished to build a memorial Chhatri in honour of the late Chimasaheb Maharaja, brother of His Highness Buvasaheb Maharaj, who died there some years back. Chimasaheb, as has been shown, was suspected of complicity in the Mutiny troubles of 1857 and was deported to Karachi. Colonel Wodehouse secured the required plot through the good offices of the Commissioner in Sind and subsequently, a Chhatri has been built there and the tradi-

tional worship of the foot-prints has been provided for. On July 16, 1914, His Highness writes to Colonel Wodehouse :—

"I have just learnt from the Diwan that you have been able to secure us a plot of ground at Karachi for Chimasaheb Maharaja's Chhatri. This is no doubt owing to your arranging the matter demi-officially with the Sind Commissioner. I am really very grateful to you for the trouble you have taken in the matter."

The health of the Maharaja does not appear to have changed for the better. In October 1912, we find him suffering from tonsillitis and he was operated on by Dr. Wanless, on the 7th of that month. His Highness would not allow himself to be chloroformed and the operation had, therefore, to be performed on a fully conscious patient. His Highness stood the excruciating pain manfully, while the tonsils were being cut out. But his sufferings were none the less great. He writes on October 21 to Mr. Hill :—

"I am still under the effects of my operation. It was not an operation but a piece of butchery as they could not give me chloroform. I was fastened in a chair and held fast by about 20 persons. I yelled and shrieked in vain. Any how I am feeling quite fit."

Nor was he much better a year later. On August 28th 1913, he says :—

"I showed myself to some doctors here. They examined me and say it is a serious matter. I am going back at once to Miraj with their opinions. Dr. Vail will treat me. I am feeling quite fresh and feel angry with the doctors for the threats. Some advise me to go to Europe. I do not think it will do me much good, except I may go to see my children just when they are half way in their studies and when they will be changing their school course. I think I shall feel well here and should not waste money in expensive trips."

Unfortunately he never abandoned this inclination to laugh at the doctors, to deride their advice and to have his own way

in matters of health. As we shall see, at every step, he ignored the advice of his doctors and tried to make experiments with his own health. This did well as long as there was nothing constitutionally wrong in his body. But now the time had come when better regard for medical opinion would, perhaps, have done him good. His fastings, his drives in the midday sun, his camping in the open jungle during wet or cold nights —and such other habits went on and he believed that he was gaining his health by such devices of his own. But at the end of 1913, he finds himself still worse. He says :—

"I was thinking of coming to see you, but I am very sorry I cannot do so now. I have again been operated on and now I have begun to feel life a burden to me. The haemorrhage was awful. It was something like three to four pints and I fainted. I feel very weak. I do not know when I shall be cured."

It was now that he thought it urgently necessary to have Dr. Vail in Kolhapur. But, as I have said before, he could not be had there permanently.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Satya Shodhak Samaj
and
The Princes in England.

The distinctive feature of the Maharaja's Movement till 1910—How the Satya Shodhaks stood—Its growth out of the Vedokta Movement—The first year of the Samaj in Kolhapur—The Brahmin intrigues against the Samaj—The Satya Shodak School started in 1913—The Princes leave for England—The "Burnham House" joined—How they were taught and treated—The Princes separate and join Public School—Mr. Bacon's estimate of the Princes—The Kumars offered for War Service—Mrs. Irwin's work for the boys—The Yuvaraj at the end of his stay in England.

THE close of 1910 was the close of the first phase of the non-Brahmin movement in the Maharaja's life. Its chief characteristic was its conservative tendency. While it was a distinct advance over the *status quo ante* 1900 its aim was to seek what it had lost in the traditional system of Hinduism. The old vicious Chaturvarnya—the fourfold divisions of society into four water-tight compartments—was still the basis on which His Highness took his stand until now. This recognised the at-the-best secondary position of the order to which His Highness claimed to belong. A wise Brahminhood would have simply jumped at the modesty of the demands made by him and would have secretly laughed at the willingness of social reformers of the Maharaja's type to accept a position which was after all one of admitted inferiority to that of the heaven-born Brahmin. The great ambition of the movement was to let the Brahmin enjoy his pre-eminence in society and to be content with having only the second best place in the hierarchy created by the cunning of the priesthood. It was still impossible to reject the Brahmin pretensions to his easily first position in society. It was still

the Brahmin who had the right to administer to the spiritual well-being of the Hindu world. It was he who was to be appealed to for a recognition or otherwise of the claims—always inferior to his—of the non-Brahmins. The struggle hitherto was in its very nature such as involved no risks for the Brahmin. Success might give the Kshatriya the consolation of purifying himself with the worship of the Brahmin—good, bad or indifferent—in the Vedokta form. If the non-Brahmin failed as the Brahmin so ungenerously wished him to do, the so-called Kshatriya fell to a lower status than his own. In any case, the Brahmin stood erect with his foot right on the head of the Kshatriya or the Sudra, whichever he proved to be.

This was the wicked nature of the battle which the non-Brahmin was hitherto compelled to fight and in which too the Brahmin would not permit him to indulge in the joy of being the Brahmin's inferior. Happily for what was to come, the Brahmin proved too short-sighted to be able to see through the implications of the Kshatriya claim and resisted with all his might and main the all too modest ambitions of the Maharaja. If the Brahmin had perhaps displayed more sagacity, he would have had the credit of nipping in the bud a spirit which was soon to realise the weakness of its position and to advance towards a more logical and a more honourable position. History teaches that the blood of the martyr is the seed of success for the cause for which he dies. We might say with equal truth that in this case at least the bigotry of the Brahmin was the seed which yielded the fruits of success to the non-Brahmin. When His Highness, as I have said before, referred to proposals to create a separate priesthood of his own caste, he had before his mind's eye an idea of which the Brahmins should have been aware and which should have served as a warning to them. But throughout their history, the Brahmins have unfortunately not been able to show that they possess this sagacity.

The Satya Shodhak Movement, as I have showed already, was initiated by its founder in 1873, but when Fule died in 1890, it had not gathered enough strength to be able to assert itself for some years thereafter. The followers that Jotirao left behind him continued firm in their faith and under the auspices of men like Dr. Vishram Ramji of Poona, it showed signs of a more vigorous life. But this revival did not prove durable. The flood tides of reaction were sweeping everything before them and the Satya Shodhak remained in solitary villages objects of ridicule and contempt. When some of them persisted in performing their ceremonies without the aid of the Brahmin priests, the latter filed suits against them claiming that they should be restrained by injunctions from performing ceremonies without calling the Brahmin priests and to be indemnified in case this was done by anybody The great social reformer Mr. Ranade, then only a Subordinate Judge, decreed both the claims and sought by the decrees of courts to prevent the Satya Shodhaks from the employment of any one but a Brahmin in the performance of their religious ceremonials. It is surprising, and indeed painful, to find that this great friend, philosopher and guide of the socio-religious reforms movement in India could not realise what he was attempting to do. High Courts in other Provinces had already refused to interfere in matters like this. The Calcutta High Court had held that this was a "simple matter of conscience and not an obligation that a Court of Law can enforce."* In that stronghold of orthodoxy, the Madras Presidency, the High Court had been approached by priests for the enforcement of their right in circumstances exactly similar to those in Bombay. A grant made by a former King a rent-free (watan) land attached to the office of Purohitship, a custom to officiate which excluded all others from the right to officiate—all these contentions were urged upon the Courts. But even the

* 10, Cal. W. R. 114 Civ. Rul.

much-maligned Brahmins of Madras, it must be said to their credit, produced Judges who declined to countenance such an iniquitous claim. Brahmin Judges of the Madras High Court plainly declared that "a monopoly to officiate as Purohit (or priest) should not be recognised by Courts and it is against public policy to allow such a claim."* But the great Bombay reformer, happily only a Subordinate Judge at that time, not only recognised the claim of the priest to be indemnified for breach of his so-called monopoly right but decreed an injunction to restrain a Hindu—and in the cases that arose they were chiefly non-Brahmins—from the employment of any but the hereditary Brahmin priest.† The High Court of Bombay, presided over by European Judges with a greater regard for equity than the best of the Poona Brahmins, dissented from this outrageously unjust view of the priest's rights. But they felt that they were bound by authority to recognise the priestly claim so far as to compensate the priest for the infringement of his right to officiate as a priest of every Hindu in the village. There was still injustice in this ruling of the English Judges. It disregarded the fact that often times the priest was an ignorant man. He may often be a morally degraded person whose ministrations to the spiritual benefit of a Hindu were against the dictates of even the Brahminical Scriptures which never recognised heredity as a qualification for a priest and distinctly ordained that the employment of and payment to unworthy priests condemned the employer to the woes of the Hell. The ruling after all countenanced a right which was loathsome to many non-Brahmins and even to some Brahmins themselves. The priest may look upon his Yajaman—the employer and master—as a Sudra, a term which non-Brahmins hated as much as an Englishman would hate being called a slave and being accorded religious rites which were reserved only to a slave and which no freeman would ever think of adopting.

† 24, I. Cases 204; also 26 M. 483. † I. L. R. 14, Bombay.

How did this inequity fail to strike the British Judges? From the trend of decisions which followed this case, it is unquestionably true that they did feel the injustice of the ruling thus given. But they could not get out of the logic of a bad history which the case had behind it. They were confronted in the first place with the legacies of the Peshwa rule which had by the sheer force of its political authority imposed and fastened the Brahmin priest upon the Hindu community. In its later half, that rule had become notorious for its heartless persecutions of the non-Brahmin communities—persecutions which aimed at the establishment of the priest as a politico-religious officer in the village. Instances are not wanting of the Peshwa's attempts—sometimes successful attempts—to replace Brahmin priests of other Brahmin castes by members of his own sub-caste. When British rule came in, the non-Brahmins were still the unconscious victims of Brahmin influence and the British Judges of the Sudder Diwani Adalat were still subject to the leading strings of the Brahmin Shastris attached to the Courts. More unfortunate still was the fact that most, if not all the earlier cases which went to the Adalat were between the official priest and rivals who were also Brahmin priests. As between them the rights of the layman or the Yajman were never pressed upon the attention of the Judges. One priest contended that this monopoly in the village was infringed by his rival priest and the Judges were led into the belief that the official priest had a right which a rival should not be allowed to encroach upon. The question of the layman's conscience never arose until the later 'seventies, the days of the Satya Shodhaks. But by this time, legal fictions had been established by the Adalat which invested the Priest's monopoly as against an intruding priest with the airs of a right in immoveable property. If the Judges had been more conversant with the conditions of Hindu Society, which was at any rate never so rigid as under the British Courts, or if they had been freer

agents of their judgments than they were under the guidance of the Court Pandits, this mistake would probably have been avoided. Many castes, the most prominent being the Lingayat Hindus, had successfully overthrown the Brahmin priests and replaced them by priests of their own caste. They could do this under Hindu Rule which was amenable to a strong public feeling. In Kolhapur, the State wished to impose the Brahmin priest upon the Jains about 1840. But after many fights, the Jains had succeeded in doing away with the claims of the Brahmin priests. Under British notions of the rigidity of Common Law rulings, the High Court of Bombay thought that the village priests' rights must be recognised even against an unwilling Yajaman. The Satya Shodhaks were trying to pull out the Brahmin priest root and branch. The educated non-Brahmins were few and far between. The few that were then existing were either too weak or too superstitious to be able to resist the united attempt of the Brahmins—orthodox or otherwise—to perpetuate the hold of their priests. Surrounded by an atmosphere like this, no wonder that the British Judges of the Bombay High Court recognised partially the Brahmin claims.

Fortunately the decisions did not illegalise or invalidate ceremonies like marriages performed by non-Brahmins with the assistance of members of their own caste and without the interference of the Brahmin priests. They only imposed a fine, though a very galling fine. That enabled the Satya Shodhak movement to live. After the Vedokta controversy had subsided, the non-Brahmins in Kolhapur began to think of some permanent remedy for the ills of the system that prevailed about them and the first natural solution of the difficulty which suggested itself to them was the revival of the Satya Shodhak Movement. His Highness could doubtless compel his priests to adopt a ritual dictated with threats of resuming the princely emoluments attached to their office in the Palace. The ordinary Maratha and allied castes had neither

the power to enforce their wishes nor the money which could allure a few Brahmins to espouse their cause. Besides, the use of Brahmins as priests after all perpetuated their own degradation and in principle it was an admission that they —the non-Brahmins —had no right to minister to their own spiritual requirements. No self-respecting man could long be satisfied with a state of things which drove him on every occasion as a suppliant kneeling before the priesthood and praying to have this ritual or that which the priesthood in its supreme wisdom might allow or not. In January 1911, a proposal to establish the Satya Shodhak Samaj was started. Next year, on 21st August 1912, the first Shravani or thread-ceremony took place at the house of Mr. Baburao Yadav according to the Vedokta forms and at the hands of the Marathas themselves. The recital of Vedic hymns by Marathas in a Maratha house attracted a crowd of Brahmins; but they had to be unceremoniously turned out. In the evening of the same day, the same Maratha priests—not professional or hereditary of course—held a public worship attended by about a hundred and fifty Marathas including some of the old Sardars like Nanasaheb Mulik. At the conclusion of the Pooja, the assembly replaced the usual prayer for prosperity to the worshippers by a devout appeal to the Almighty to free the non-Brahmin mind of its ancient superstition that the Brahmin caste had a monopoly of spiritual authority. A week after this, the Marathas in the Kolhapur Risala (Cavalry) followed this example and had their Vedic Shravani without its usual concomitant, the Brahmin priesthood. The next day, the 27th, the Marathas in the Shukrawar Peth took up the suggestion and performed another Satya Shodhak ceremony. The 24th of September was the anniversary of the foundation of the Samaj by Jotirao Fule. Kolhapur celebrated the occasion for the first time in its history by holding a public meeting. The burden of the song at the meeting was that the Brahmin

Shankaracharya was the Pope of the Hindus and just as the Protestant Church under Luther rebelled against the domination of the Pope who held the keys of the heavens the non-Brahmins must rebel against the Brahmin priesthood and its High Priest who held the keys of the Hindu heavens wherever they may be.

These proceedings could not fail to attract the attention of the Brahmins. Those who were entirely opposed to the Maratha movement for Vedokta rites were, it need hardly be mentioned, opposed to this new phase of it. But they had given up the battle as lost and the chief opposition to this completely revolutionary social movement came from other quarters. The Brahmins who had supported the Vedokta for the Maharaja were now awakened to a sense of the full logic of their past admissions. They were delighted with the fat emoluments which they had secured to themselves at the cost of their more Obdurate brethren: but they had not then counted upon the natural consequences of the Maratha awakening. They had been fondly indulging in the hope that by conceding the Vedokta to the Maharaja they had made their own supremacy unquestioned and unquestionable. But now another unexpected situation stared them in the face. The Maharaja was still on the fence. He had not yet thrown his lot with the new reformers. But did not the Vedokta agitation, they must have asked themselves, begin in the same way with a Shravani in which the Maharaja himself was not directly concerned? And who knew that this more radical innovation might not lead to similar developments in the Palace? The shrewd Vedokta Brahmins with Shankaracharya as their head began to muster their full force against this rising mutiny in their own camp. Some misguided Marathas also supported them. They were still slavish enough to be content with basking in the sunshine of the Brahmin smilet and being treated as children, who would never grow up, to be kissed at times by their Brahmin guardians but to be

caned also by them if they ventured beyond the fixed limits, circumscribing their movements. A conference was held by the Shankaracharya Swami and it was decided that the laws which were to govern Hindu Society should be laid down by the Brahmin High Priest in consultation with a meeting of ten thousand leaders from all parts of Hindu India. The idea was based on the alleged right of the High Priest to be the final authority of all Hindus, an authority which the Priest wished to use for the perpetuation of his own supremacy with the collaboration of the Brahmin priesthood. About two hundred marriages and still more numerous lesser ceremonies took place in Kolhapur City this year. A movement which assumed such proportions within such a short time could not but fill the Brahmins with a feeling bordering on consternation. The Vedokta of ten years back was nothing when compared with this rapid and far-reaching change. The rumour was immediately set on foot that these marriages without the Brahmin priest could not be valid in law and the offspring of them could be treated as illegitimate children. Why, they argued, were these Satya Shodhak marriages confined only to the poorer classes of the Marathas ? The answer implied was that they were unlawful and hence avoided by the big gentry of Kolhapur non-Brahmins. The Joshi, the hereditaray priest, was the official priest of the State and if he were avoided, the marriage must be void.

While these tricks were being played to kill the movement, it was spreading like wild fire in the villages about Kolhapur. The Shankaracharya, discarded by the orthodox Brahmin as being favourable to the Vedokta of the Maharaja, was trying to ingratiate himself with the Marathas and as the Konkan Maratha was more credulous than his brethren of the Desh, he was about to undertake a tour through the Western side of the State to replenish his coffers and re-establish his priestly influence. The nasty Satya Samajists sent their preachers

like Baburao Yadav to those villages and the result was that the villagers refused to carry the yoke of the priesthood any longer on their shoulders. The lamb of the Konkan had turned into a tiger. So sudden and electric was the change that though the Swami had sent orders for preparations being made to receive him, he had to cancel those orders and remain at home. He then turned his attention to the Bombay City, which had a large colony of Konkan Marathas who hankered after the recognition of their second place in the Hindu hierarchy unmindful of the fact that this admitted the perpetual superiority of the Brahmin. A big meeting was held there on the Dussara day to organise public opinion against the Satya Shodhaks. Brahmins and non-Brahmins including the Shankaracharya and one or two half-educated but priest-ridden Marathas of Kolhapur preached a Jehad against the Satya Shodhaks. The moment seemed to be propitious for the last and decisive attack on the movement. The Maharaja had by this time sanctioned a handsome grant to the Satya Shodhak School. But he was still far from taking an active part on the side of the Samaj. Was it not then an opportune attack which might prove a death-blow to it? All these hopes—and the efforts of this unholy alliance between the Brahmins and a few shortsighted non-Brahmins—proved fruitless within a short time.

In July 1913, His Highness established the Satya Shodhak School at Kolhapur which was now placed in charge of a Dhangar gentleman of considerable learning and sincerity, Mr. Done. Its object was to teach the non-Brahmins all the religious formalities which the Hindus wish to observe in their religious performances and which the non-Brahmins were hitherto declared to be unfit to conduct. Young non-Brahmins from far and near flocked to the school, learnt the duties of a priest and went about displacing the Brahmin. His Highness' sympathies were thus manifestly on the side of the Samaj. But with his usual cautiousness, he was still

watching the progress of events. In 1913, the number of religious ceremonies in the capital alone, where Brahmins were dispensed with, was 1,513 out of which 266 were marriages. In the following year the number of such marriages increased to 299. This was obviously rapid progress in the face of external as well as internal difficulties. His Highness supported the movement directly by aiding the school and indirectly by setting his face against persons who wished to discredit the movement by creating the impression that the marriages performed by the new priests were void. The tarring of the statue in the January of 1914 and the troubles which arose out of it engrossed him for the whole of that year and for some time later. An attempt was made with the assistance of a Brahmin Police Officer to connect the Satya Shodhaks with that offence. The result was a temporary set-back. I am afraid that the subsequent story of 1914 must await publication for many years to come. Nor is it very essential for the purpose I have in view in this book. It is enough to remember that this temporary lull in the movement was bound to be followed by a period of renewed activity as surely as morning follows the night. And the morning was not long in coming.

There is one chapter in the Maharaja's work of these years which I have left untouched hitherto, the education of his sons who were now growing to a ripe and vigorous boyhood. In 1912 the Yuvaraj was nearly fifteen and his younger brother Prince Shivaji Maharaj was younger only by two years. As we have seen, His Highness was applying the best part of his thoughts to the education of the Princes. For this purpose, he had engaged the services of Mrs. Irwin, a Scotch-American lady, as tutor to them. He had also been thinking of sending them to a European School in India. He was however not very sure of the advisability of doing this and, therefore, after enquiries which I have already referred to, he sent a batch of half a dozen Maratha boys near him to the Panchgani

School and afterwards to the Bangalore European Boys' School. Neither the Maharaja nor the boys were satisfied with the work done there. He was thus left with only one course open to him and that was to send his sons to England immediately. Looking to the age of the Princes, this was indeed a difficult course to take. But when once His Highness was convinced that he had got to do a thing, he never faltered or hesitated. At first he had thought of accompanying the boys to England for a few days; but for reasons which I cannot fix, he decided to depute Shri Bapusaheb and Mr. Sabnis for the purpose. The Princes had by now become ready for such a trip. The earlier nervousness of the Yuvaraj had given much anxiety to the Maharaja; but now he had learnt to overcome it. He was at this time a keen sportsman and had distinguished himself as a good cricketeer and *shikari*. The first *shikar* of the Yuvaraj was on January 20 of 1912 when he bagged a fine tiger 7 feet and 6 inches long n the Tumjai Jungles. The companions who were to stay with the Princes in England were boys from the Sardars' families of the State, Appasaheb who was the son of the Junior Chief of Kagal, Nesrikar, a young Sardar of Kolhapur, Mr. Bapusaheb Ingle and Balasaheb Parmekar, brother-in-law of Bapusaheb. They left Bombay for England on May 11, 1912, escorted as I have said by Shri Bapusaheb and Mr. Sabnis. Mrs. Irwin had left a little earlier to make preparations to receive the Princes in a suitable home in England. The school selected for the Kumars was called "The Burnham House" at Hendon in Middlesex, about twenty miles from London. The institution was meant for middle class boys and was conducted by Mr. Bacon, a Cambridge Graduate, and Mr. Falker who had served in the Army. The school was thirty-five years old and the careers of old Burnham boys testified to the admirable education and training received at the school. "The endeavour of the Masters"—that is the statement of the school's ideal by the

Principals themselves—" is to create and foster an interest not only in the actual work of the class-rooms, but also in all subjects and pursuits likely to broaden the minds of boys, strengthen their characters and fit them for the larger life of the public school." The ordinary curriculum including 'Religious Instruction, Greek, Latin, French Mathematics, Drawing and the usual English subjects.' Carpentry, Riding, Swimming, Music, Dancing and German were also provided for.

The Kumars had some three months yet before them before they could commence work in the school. They were therefore placed under two special teachers whose task was to equip the Kumars for the coming school life. Mrs. Irwin took a house near Burnham House where she was to live with the Kumars while they were getting ready to be boarders in their school. Early in June, they occupied their new home under the care of Mrs. Irwin. Prior to this, however, some difficulties had arisen regarding the projected arrangements for the Kumars. Some of His Highness' friends in England, including Sir William Lee Warner, did not approve of the idea of youngsters of that age being left in England without the very best care being taken for their education. They probably thought that the Kumars had not yet attained sufficient maturity to benefit by a stay in England. "When we thought of taking the Maharaja to England as desired by his father on his death-bed," said Sir William, "he was opposed to us. And now that the Maharaja is himself sending his sons to England, we feel that we ought to oppose his idea. That is indeed an irony of fate." At his suggestion Shri Bapu-saheb and Mr. Sabnis took the Princes to Mr. Arnold, who advised that the batch should be divided into three groups of two each, 'lest they may live in a small world of their own.' The advice was duly communicated to His Highness. His Highness' own views in this connection as well as on points raised by other friends will be clear from the following extracts

On June 9, Mr. Sabnis was informed :—

" If the arrangements about the Kumars at Hendon are to your and Bapusaheb's satisfaction, it is not desirable to remove them from there just at present. His Highness himself is going there next year when he would look into the existing state of things, consult Sir W. Lee Warner and other friends and make any other arrangement about them if he finds them necessary. His Highness does not think that in the interval the influence of the present arrangement on the minds of the Kumars would in any way be detrimental to their progress. His Highness thinks that it would be better if the Kumars are left to themselves with Mrs. Irwin to look after them and that you all should not remain with them any longer after they are settled, so that they may see that they have to depend upon themselves for their future training. His Highness wishes that all of you should return here and leave the Kumars to themselves. It is His Highness's particular desire that you should leave instructions behind to the effect that the other Kumars should be given a better treatment than even his own sons."

After receiving a letter from Mr. Sabnis regarding Sir William's views, and writing under date June 23, His Highness says :—

" I cannot really thank you enough for the kind interest you have been taking in us. You were one of my father's best friends and you took the same kindly interest in me and my brother and my two sons and the other Kumars share it. I am very anxious about the health of my eldest son, who is of a very nervous temperament. . . . I was not at all inclined to send him at this age to England, but the doctors thought that the English climate will do him good. I think, not to praise myself, he is not half so clever as I was at his age. I can assure you however that the Kumars have got the best of morals, are well behaved and obedient and will never be a failure like the children of some of the other Princes.

Even the anarchists and the bad characters of England won't contaminate them. Still I hope you will keep an eye and see that none of the above characters go near them. I am quite sure that you will like the arrangement made by Mrs. Irwin. My strongest desire and wish is to keep all the Kumars in one school. I have strongly instructed my brother, the Diwan and Mrs. Irwin on this very point and I strongly wish to adhere to it. The advantage is that they will fall into their own company. From my own experience in the Raj Kumar College and also from the few Kumars at Panchagani with English boys, though they form not altogether their own company, they can talk and mix freely with the English boys also.

The advantages of keeping the boys together are, in my opinion, that they will not forget their own nationality, not hate Indians and hate each other so that none of them may tell tales to me about their bad doing if any.

I was told by the parents of the boys who were sent to England that the children soon become home-sick and break in health. In that case, we have to get them back. That is why I was afraid of my eldest son : but I have no fear now as it is a big party and in the same school.

I do not risk my eldest son being brought backwards and forwards for being home-sick and thus hinder his education."

At the same time, he wrote to Mrs. Irwin :—

" On no account should the group be broken as my sons will want friends after they return. We find, after coming from England, boys are without friends and go and have new Indian friends whom they do not know or they become solitary."

The difficulties were thus set at rest. The Kumars were now in Hendon well settled in their course of studies. Regarding the subjects to be taught to his Kumars, His Highness had just as independent views as he had regarding the

choice of their school and their guardianship in England. He tells Mrs. Irwin on August 8 of 1912 :—

" If I find their progress during the first two years promising, I am thinking of keeping them there for five years. My idea is that they should go in for engineering and study the subject at the engineering school near the Crystal Palace. It has been strongly recommended to me. But everything depends on the progress of the boys.

I do not care for Latin and the subject may be omitted from their studies. Algebra and Geometry may be given a trial. If they find them very stiff, still they must continue as I wish them to learn engineering ; let them at least have a chance. Kindly convey my thanks to the Principals for their consenting to make the changes in the studies to suit the Kumars."

About the end of September the School opened its terms regularly and the Kumars were now to live as boarders among the boys in the School.

" They will soon be in school as regular boarders " says Mrs. Irwin on September 10 " but will come to me daily for dinner or supper and will probably spend the evenings with me. We have also arranged that the boys will be removed to my side of the house in case of illness or when they require any nursing or medical treatment or if at any time any one of our boys should require special diet."

The reply to this was characteristically Maharaja-like. He wrote to her on September 26 :—

" You know I do not wish that the boys should be treated differently from other students in the school. They must be under the same discipline as the rest. I do not want them to have one meal with you every day. If they come to you for meals once a week, that is quite enough. They should not think that any indulgence is being shown to them. That will only tend to spoil them. I hope they will now be separated and put into different classes according

to their progress and each one of them has an English companion. They should mix very freely with English boys."

To which Mrs. Irwin replied on October 17, reporting the progress of the boys as follows :—

"I was very pleased to receive your letter of September 26th. You will be pleased to read the accounts of the School sports in the Hendon and Finchly Times which I am mailing to you to-day, also the programme with the names of the fortunate lads. Your Highness will see that the Kumars did very well. Bala did exceedingly well. He won a silver cup and a cricket bat, Shivaji a pretty little clock, Jayasingrao a knife, Ingle a ball, Appa a lovely leather writing case and Shankarrao a set of quoits.

With reference to Your Highness' wishes regarding the boys being treated as other students in the school, I would say that they have exactly the same treatment throughout the day and in school, and they mix most freely with the English lads. Indeed Your Highness would scarcely recognise them as being in any way different from the other boys here, so thoroughly have they become one with the lads in schools."

It is needless to go on with the weekly letters that passed to and fro. A year after the Kumars had joined the school Sir W. Morrison, than whom the Kumars had no better friend in England, reports his own impressions about the progress of the Princes thus :—

"I went to Hendon yesterday afternoon and found all the six boys hard at football. It was a Saturday afternoon. I watched the play nearly half an hour. The Yuvaraj was playing as hard as any of them and seemed much less flabby and more active than when I first saw him in England. He has lost a good deal of that superfluous flesh he had and seems more wiry and stronger all round. Of course he is still a bit behind in some ways, but I see progress every time and he is such a nice fellow in disposition. Every one seems to like him. All

six looked well and happy, the only ailment was that one (I forget who) had chilblains on his fingers.

"I was surprised to find that Mrs. Irwin had left the previous day for the south of France. You will probably know about this and that her head had been troubling her for some time. I hope the rest will set her up again and that she will soon be back. When she is alright again, I think the question of separating the boys and sending them to different schools should engage attention, but I shall not write to her about this until I hear that she is quite well again.

"Thank you for your letter of 4th June. I am so glad to hear that you are quite fit again. I am looking forward to seeing you in England next year. What a sweep Bapusaheb makes of the Poona Turf Club stakes every year! There is hardly a meeting in which R.R.S. does not seem to get two or three firsts. My kind regards to him please. He ought to come to England and have a try for the Derby. I did not see Mr. Bacon yesterday as he was away for the afternoon. But I had a long talk with Alexander; he seems a thoroughly reliable man to live with the boys. He says they are all very hard at their lessons this term and he hardly sees anything of them."

Three months afterwards, His Highness suggests a line of study for his own sons :—

"Can you not induce my eldest son and the other three Baba, Appa and Shiva to take practical chemistry or engineering or agriculture than to go in for the University course? Tell them I hate University course. Let them be mechanical engineers.

"Please answer by return of post kindly. I hope the boys have not taken to smoking or drink. Do answer please."

Shortly after this and in January 1914, the Yuvaraj joined St. Edwards at Oxford and Prince Shivaji Maharaj went to King Edward's School, Bromsgrove. That sincere friend, Sir W. Morrison, tells us how they fared in March 1914 :—

"I went to Oxford to-day and saw Jayasingrao and Bala and I know you will like to know what I thought of them. They both seem to be getting on very well, seeing that this is the first term they have been away from Mrs. Irwin. I did not see any of the masters of the school, but had a talk with the Matron and she told me that the other boys like them both very much and that Jayasingrao especially is very popular. Jayasingrao is a good deal thinner than he was last year, but looks very well. He is getting to speak English better, and I noticed that he was not so shy and had more to say for himself than before. He is a very nice lad and no one can help liking him. The school seems a good one. I saw round the rooms, gymnasium, swimming bath, etc.

I hope you are keeping fit. Are we not to see you in England this year?"

These complimentary estimates of the progress and character of the Kumars are fully borne out by their teachers themselves, "They were wonderfully popular here. Besides the real affection I had for them" continues one of them, Mr. Bacon, "I felt deeply conscious that they did much to keep up the high tone, that I aimed at my school maintaining. Jayasingrao had a most lovable disposition, and his kindness to the small boys and his acute sympathy with any one who was ill or in pain attracted me very greatly;.......Shivaji was a most attractive boy, of a more sporting nature, full of life and innocent mischief. The two brothers were in very strong contrast but both were alike in moral uprightness and noble aspirations. I know these qualities were appreciated at the bigger schools to which they went after leaving me."

The Yuvaraj was now about to join an agricultural course and on the eve of this change. His Highness writes to Mrs. Irwin under date 24 July 1914 :—

"I have not heard from you for a long time. I hope you have been keeping quite well. I believe by this time Jayasingrao has joined the farm. I wonder if he likes the work and it

agrees with him. Please see that he actually works on the farm as I wish him to learn that and not merely supervision work.

" You may know that a grand exhibition is to be held in America next year. It is my desire that the boys should visit it. They can never have such an opportunity again. It will be a world's show. They will profit by it immensely and it will have a great educative value and therefore I am so keen in the matter. I believe you too like the idea of visiting your native country and with the help of your friends there the boys will have very good time there. I write to you now so that you may have ample time to arrange for the tour."

On that memorable August 4, 1914, the Great War against Germany was declared by England. True to his loyalty, His Highness offered not only his own personal services to the King Emperor, but those of his sons and their companions were also freely offered. On August 10, just within a week of the declaration of War, His Highness wrote to Col. Wodehouse, the Resident :—

"I propose to request Government to take my boys as volunteer boy scouts. They are six in all. If Government really and truly want them and not as a mere form, we will feel greatly honoured. If Government decide to take them, myself, my brother and some of my relations will leave by earliest mail and do any menial or any other work.

I do not write this only in a formal way, but this is what I mean really and truly. I have to thank Government for the kind reply to my telegram. Kindly do use your influence and give me and my relations a chance.

I do not wish to trouble His Excellency the Governor by writing or calling upon him as I know how very busy His Excellency must be this time ; so kindly forward my letter to His Excellency. If the boys could not be utilised in any way, I shall have to call them back."

About March of 1915, the Kumars were removed to Princess Hotel, Hove, Brighton. A little before that Mrs. Irwin writes :—

" We shall be leaving this house after four weeks. So I give the new address. The above will be our home address until we leave England about the beginning of August. I trust the way will be clear and safe by that time as we are making all our plan to that end. I shall be very thankful indeed to get the Kumars back to India safely.

I have begun to take Jayasingrao out a bit as the Yuvaraj of Kolhapur, to impress upon him the importance of self-reliance and composure on all occasions.

" I was able to arrange for him to visit the wounded Indians at the Royal Pavilion and Dome. The Officer in charge received us. I introduced the Yuvaraj and his brother. Then I stepped behind with Shivaji, and another officer and Jayasingrao went on the front with Major Irvin Fortescue.

" The Yuvaraj did splendidly and pleased every one. The Maratha patients were delighted to speak with their Yuvaraj and kept him talking a long time to them—especially the ones from near Kolhapur and Kagal. Jayasingrao distributed sweets to them and on leaving the Major, he handed him five pounds to be used for the extra comforts of the wounded. I have also procured a pass now for the other four Kumars who are very eager to see the Indians in the beautiful Royal Pavilion.

"Last week a box of sweets came from Dr. Tengshe. This was put in small silver boxes which have come to the boys from time to time and sent then to the Marathas at the Pavilion with the seasons greetings.

"Mr. Patwardhan of Sangli and Ratanagiri is an interpreer at the Pavilion and Dome. He comes to see us quite often ; and is much pleased to be with us during our visits to the soldiers.

"I am writing this from my bed where I have been for some days. My head is again troubling me; but I hope to be alright when I get the work done in preparation for leaving this house, and getting things packed for India that need not travel with us.

"Will Your Highness kindly let me know if you wish the Kumars to arrive in Bombay in their own national dress or should they arrive in English dress with Indian turban only? I can then send all their Indian things, except turbans, previous to our leaving home."

The Princes left England on July 10 and reached New York on the 19th of that month. After seeing the most notable places there they went to Japan, thence to China and returned to Kolhapur *via* Colombo on the 17th of October 1915, more than three years after they had left. It is impossible to depict the scenes of joy which attended the return of these young lads to their parents and their loving people. All communities vied with one another in welcoming them and presented loyal and affectionate addresses to them as well as to Mrs. Irwin who had looked after them with motherly care in that distant land and watched their progress through a critical stage of their lives. She had been to the Kumars more than an assiduous member of their own family. Indian homes, especially of the class to which the Princes belonged, are not distinguished for discipline, whatever their other merits may be. Mrs. Irwin brought to her task all the tender love of which only a highly selfless lady is capable and added to these qualities, which make woman a more fortunate sharer in the divine portion of human nature, a habit of strict and alert discipline which Indian homes so sadly lack. The Kumars, I must not forget, fully reciprocated the affection which Mrs. Irwin felt for them and remained as thoroughly obedient to her as any dutiful boys could be. She found Prince Shivaji smoking a cigarette once and caned him for his fault. There was not a rumour of complaint against this and the Prince obeyed

like an obedient son. This was the only occasion as far as I could gather when punishment had to be resorted to. On the whole the boys behaved so well that the fears which His Highness entertained about the likelihood of their catching the contagion of the western ideas of social manners which were so repugnant to oriental minds, were laid at rest when the Kumars returned to India improved in every way and without bringing with him a single defect from the western social life. His Highness' fears were indeed based on experience gained by other Princes. He had known some of them taking not only to the lesser vice of smoking but to drinking and laxity in sexual morality He had seen the ruin of some Princes who had contracted such habits in their stay in Europe. Happily his own sons came back strengthened in the strictness of their habits and morals which delighted not only the Maharaja but his whole State whose welfare depended so considerably on the character of their future ruler. On the return of Prince Jayasingrao, His Highness the present Maharaja, temptations were thrown in his way which could have easily seduced an ordinary man from the path of moral rectitude. But Jayasingrao stood strong and firm and proved to his father and to his people that English education had turned him into a fine puritan in character, a young man without a single vice or failing.

Mrs. Irwin gives the following impressions about her pupil Prince Jaysingrao in a letter from America :—

"In India when we were first requested by the late Maharaja to take charge of the Rajkumar's education, some sixteen years ago, it was rather difficult to get the boy's mind away from wild boar hunts, tiger shoots and other wild sports.

"Gradually, however, with coaxing and a fair amount of patience he was brought round to see the value and importance of exercising the brain by getting down to real study.

"Jayasingrao was always a favourite with Professors and pupils.

"In both London and Oxford his obedience and adherence to rules won for him the real affection and admiration of his teachers and Professors who frequently remarked that our European boys would do well to follow the example of Jayasingrao and his companions.

"In his studies he was eager to learn and to keep abreast of his fellow students. For a time his anxiety to do well almost proved his undoing, but his teachers discovered this before much harm was done and urged him to give more time to outdoor sports such as cricket and football.

"Among his fellow students, "Jais" was their pet and idol. His ready smile, gentle manner and generous, kindly nature made him a lovable friend and companion to many of the boys, especially the shy and less fortunate ones. When alone the Yuvaraj had a serious and thoughtful expression, but this quickly disappeared with his charming smile. One of the amusing incidents which happened while we were abroad might be mentioned here. The late Maharaja desired that his boys be brought up and treated as ordinary English gentlemen's sons during their school days in England, and while our young Yuvaraj was somewhat awed by the realisation that he must henceforth do his own valeting, especially in dressing and in adjusting his own tie, he reluctantly stooped to conquer the tying of shoes and neck tie. In the home he was no less obedient to rule than in school and was always ready to consult and seek the advice of his guardian in all matters of importance whether private, personal or otherwise.

"Dr. Irwin and I had ample opportunity in India and in England to observe certain traits of character that suggested wonderful possibilities. The Yuvaraj was possessed of a wonderful air of dignity and charm of voice and manner which are so important and worth while in one who holds the destiny of millions of suffering humanity.

Two of the outstanding features of his nature were his reverential love and loyalty to his mother the Maharani and

his respect and obedience to the wishes of his father the Chhatrapati Maharaja.

If knowing how to obey in boyhood is the *sine qua non* of a good ruler, then the present Maharaja should be *par excellence.*

The relationship between guardian and ward was very unusual. No subject regarding the human make-up being taboo when approached with dignity and held sacred.

The lad's confidence and open mind enabled me to analyse his needs and to sympathetically and clearly understand boy nature at the most critical stage of his development and growth.

This might have been given in reply to the question of his father the late Maharaja on our return from England :—

" How did you manage to keep my boys from drinking, smoking, etc., and to bring them back clean in mind and body ? " I should mention here that His Highness made this one request before our departure to England that his boys should not learn three things, drinking, smoking and dancing with girls.

" Very often I think of how the Yuvaraj used to speak of his hopes and ambitions and would evince a desire to serve his people and improve their condition. He would interest himself in welfare work and would talk of how he would keep the six Kumars together after their return to India, uniting their forces for the uplift and betterment of the people and the country."

The Kumars spent about two months in Kolhapur during which time they visited Bombay to meet Lord Willingdon. Prior to their going to see His Excellency, His Highness wrote to him on October 31 :—

" Let me introduce to you Mrs. Irwin, guardian to my boys. She is Scotch by birth and American by marriage. She has done, of course, what no lady could have done but even more, what no man could have done. If you take the instances

of C, P, B, etc., there has not been a single good instance not even as an exception. She has done to my boys like Miss Monxon to Fatesingrao of Akalkote, Sawantwadi and others. My boys consist of six—my two sons, Shivaji and Rajaram, my nephew Appasaheb, my relation Bapusaheb Ingle and my Jahagirdar Nesrikar. If you choose to see Mrs. Irwin before, she will give you the whole history of the boys. I am not praising my boys but I have to praise Mrs. Irwin. Colonel Wodehouse and my brother, experts of English and native manners, will be able to tell you that Mrs. Irwin had brought them up after both manners. Morally, physically very fit. They are clean both in body and mind. Not even smoking. I am sending Mrs. Irwin ahead so that if Your Excellency sees her you will get an exact idea of them. Mrs. Irwin's services have been so much appreciated by the public, my officers, Sardars, and others, that she has hardly any time to accept the addresses. This itself will speak for her. I must say, I am quite pleased with my boys. There is one request I have to make to Your Excellency. I am sending my boys back to England in a couple of months as they are keen to finish their education. On their way they will be in America for some months to see Panama Canal, &c., and agricultural and chemical industries. If Your Excellency could kindly give Mrs. Irwin a note of introduction to the Ambassador there or any other person whom Your Excellency knows, I would feel obliged. I have written this long letter to give you a correct idea of Mrs. Irwin and my boys."

Unfortunately this idea of sending the Princes back to Europe and America again never materialised.

During these days, His Highness was busy finding out what attachment the Kumars retained for their old tradition and to inculcate an enlightened faith in religion. He writes to Shri Bapusaheb on October 28 :—

" As the boys are back here after three years and a half I want them to learn more of their own religion, customs

and manners and above all to choose friends and companions for themselves when they come here as men and not to learn to hate their own country, but to love it and be happy for the rest of their life. I want the boys to be more among their own people and with their loving mother, aunts and other leading members of the family during their stay here for the short time. They will be going back in January or February. You and I being the uncle and father, can understand the tender hearts of mothers. Others cannot understand these things. My dear brother, do talk to them about our religion, social manners, &c., while they are here only for a couple of months, about what their position is, and how they have to behave towards the Imperial Government and other matters. Please put them right so that all will go right with them during the coming years."

The Princes were sent to Allahabad on December 9 to carry on their studies in Agriculture and allied subjects in the Ewing Christian College. They spent a year in that College and returned to their capital for practical training in administrative work in their own State.

CHAPTER XIX.

The War.

The War—Services offered—The siege of Kut—The trouble about recruiting—The riot in Kolhapur—The War Loans—Recruiting and Arbitration Courts—The success—The work of the Yuvaraj—The Bombay War Conference.

THE declaration of war by the British Empire against Germany in August 1914 and, against Turkey a few weeks later, called forth from all sections of the Indian people such an enthusiastic outburst of loyalty that it was a greater triumph of the righteous policy of Great Britian in India than had ever before crowned her work in any part of her history. That policy, it may at once be stated, has not been without its mistakes—sometimes very gross mistakes—and an act here or an act there may be capable of no other explanation than that the statesmen responsible for those acts were deviating from the usual path laid out by the general consensus of public opinion in the British Isles. But the crisis brought on by the War put to the severest of all tests the true feelings of India as a whole, which fully proved that the future of Indian prosperity was indissolubly bound up with the continued connection of India with Great Britain as an integral part of the British Commonwealth. The Princes of India, it is needless to say, had their full share in this manifestation of India's innermost sentiments of loyalty to the Empire, of whose unity the King Emperor was the most appropriate and visible emblem. Knowing as we now do His Highness Shahu Chhatrapati's views about the beneficent nature of British rule in India, especially in its relations with the Princes of India, his whole-hearted devotion to the Imperial cause and his readiness to serve that cause in every possible way,

were only to be expected from him as soon as the War broke out. Immediately on the commencement of the hostilities, His Highness offered his services to the Government in his characteristically frank manner. I have already referred to his wish to enroll his sons in England and their companions as volunteers for any work that may be assigned to them. In continuation of this, he wrote on August 10, 1914, to Colonel Wodehouse :—

"I have asked my Diwan to give you the information about the ages of Kumars. Roughly they are about 16.

"I have also asked my brother to make a list of the volunteers, relations, Sardars, etc. This is not formal and I wish to write on the subject every now and then and all my letters should be considered more than a Thaili. I do not like formality of sending Thailis. I have asked my brother to send the names of those who really and truly mean. You can forward both of my autograph letters.

"*P.S.*—You can ask the feudatories yourself except my brother who is working and helping me in all these things. My brother and myself have got a good staff under us and if there is anything else to be done, at least allow us to collect provisions in all the neighbouring districts and our State. We are all ready to do any menial work like cooking, grooming, hamal work or anything."

It was in this spirit of devotion that he applied himself to the service of the Empire at this juncture. Though he thought that his feudatories excepting Shri Bapusaheb would be better approached by the Resident himself—the reasons are too obvious to require mention—he addressed letters to all his sardars, officers and leading citizens to take up the work of assisting the Empire in every way possible. The unpreparedness of the Government to define the lines on which this assistance could be given by the Maharaja or his loyal subjects entailed some delay. But the collection of subscriptions to the War Relief Fund, started by Lord Willingdon,

was commenced from the very beginning. On 30th July 1915, His Highness informs the Resident :—

"My Sardars, Inamdars, State servants and the Rayats of my State have raised by subscription a sum of about Rs. 39,000 for the War Relief Fund. I quite approve of your kind suggestion made a few days back to utilise it in providing ambulance cars and also for their upkeep. From the figures furnished to me, five cars, I think, can at present be provided for one year from the amount subscribed. I shall, therefore, feel obliged by your kindly writing to His Excellency Lord Willingdon and requesting His Excellency to accept the offer on behalf of my State. On hearing from you a cheque for the amount required will be sent to you. It is the fervent wish of my subjects that the War may soon terminate in victory for the allies and the justice of the cause for which it is undertaken be established and the unholy spirit of militarism be crushed for ever."

His Highness himself subscribed a sum of Rs. 20,000 to the War Relief Fund and a further sum of Rs. 4,000 to the Ladies' Section of it started by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon.

The misfortunes of the Indian Army at Kut-el-Amara where among others Mahratta soldiers were besieged by the Turkish forces gave His Highness an opportunity to exercise his unique influence on the minds of the Mahratta nation. During the long weeks that the Indian Army was invested, food supplies fell short and it was found necessary that the sepoys should live on horse-meat. But the Mahratta regiments would not eat it. Though accustomed to animal food, custom forbade them the use of horse-flesh. Nothing that their commanding officers could do could induce them to fall away from the customs of their caste which prohibited that flesh for food. Where were the vaunted authorities of the Hindu-religion—the Brahmin priests and their Pope? The Mahratta regiments including not merely the Mahratta

caste but allied castes such as the Dhangars, Parits, Dhobis, &c., would listen only to their social leader the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. If he could send them an order under his own seal allowing them to eat horse-flesh, they said they would have no objection to accept it. The Bombay Government therefore approached the Maharaja and he readily consented to induce the regiments. His first idea was to go to them personally by aeroplane and speak to them on the subject. On March 20, 1916, he wrote to Mr. Robertson, the Political Secretary :—

"The Diwan came to me just now and told me your conversation. My opinion in the matter is that no writing will do any good, nor would the men believe that it has come from the right person. Even if they did believe, they would not follow it. Because naturally they would think that this would give them an opportunity to return to India or to go to Mesopotamia where they think that the fighting is not so fierce. Neither . . . nor . . . can be of any use at this. The only persons who can be of any use are good Mahratta families like those of Kagal (Ghatge), Mohite, Chawan, Puars of Dhar and Dewas, Nimbalkar, Rane, Bhosale, &c. The real Mahrattas are Punch Kulis, *i.e.*, the descendants of five superior families. Next in importance are the 96 families and even among them there are distinctions. If Government wishes, I am sure if I am allowed to go with some 20 families of my choice and some cooks chosen by me personally to talk to the men and eat with them, it will be most helpful especially as my line is esteemed as being descended from Shivaji, *i.e.*, Bhosle of Panch Kuli. It is my earnest desire that at this time I should be of service to Government. . . . .

"I think it but my duty to be of some little help at least to Government at this time. But if I, with some men from the above families, am allowed to be with them and eat with them and set an example to them, they will not, I am sure, hesitate to follow us. . . . I should like to get an idea of

the Mahrattas in the line and their surnames also if available here. I want the number so that I may take the necessary staff of cooks to cook for them. This will not be very expensive but it will do lots of good. By the bye, I may mention (though it is not quite easy to prove it) that T. party are telling men that Government are only enlisting Mahrattas and why should they not enlist Eurasians and Sikhs and Pathans ; that Eurasians are not enlisted because they are Christians. They tell them that because the Sikhs and others are not loyal, therefore they are discarded as B's are discarded for their disloyalty. So you also will save yourself if you too act like the Sikhs and Pathans and B's.

"I think my presence with men from the above families among the Mahrattas will put heart into them and they will work very cheerfully and with zeal and delight. That is what we hope. So I trust you will allow me to do this service of Government. If I am allowed to do this, it will be a matter of great pride to my whole family and I shall also feel that I have done some little duty to the Paramount Power."

The Government naturally thought that it would be taking too much risk to take the Maharaja to a besieged army and declined to accept the offer in this letter. It was, however, decided that His Highness should send a letter under his own signature to the sepoys asking them to use horse-flesh during the period of their investment by the enemy. On 23rd March, His Highness sent the letter and wrote :—

"As settled in our talk yesterday, I am sending separately a Thaili containing an appeal from me addressed to Mahratta Officers and men in the fighting line. I trust it may serve its purpose and the caste difficulty about horse-flesh may no longer be felt."

The Thaili mentioned here is remarkable in many ways. It had the instantaneous effect of bringing round the Mahratta Regiments to accept a food which enabled them to hold out

longer than they would otherwise have done. I make no apology therefore to quote it in full :—

"My Comrades, Officers and Men of the Maratha Regiments: The Paramount Power with its Allies has been engaged in a titanic struggle for nearly the last two years. Hearing the Mahrattas have every now and then achieved deeds of great valour and courage such as would redound to the spotless glory of their brave ancestors, every Mahratta thrills with pride. I feel it the more, holding, as you know the high honour of being a Colonel of a brave Mahratta Regi ment in the British Army. It is but natural that some of us should feel disappointed that they have not been able to take part in this great War. However, every one is highly gratified that his own brethren are working night and day in the Imperial cause enduring greatest hardships, quite regardless of their lives. I learn that my Mahratta brethren while discharging their sacred duty, with boundless devotion to the cause, have come into great trouble and that a question has arisen as to what according to the rules of caste may be used as food and what not. Supply of food is running short every day owing to their being besieged by the enemy. The Imperial Government is doing their utmost to supply provisions. Nevertheless it has become most difficult to send provisions to the besieged forces. At such a time to save life, it is necessary to live on whatever food is available. In Mahabharat, where the duties of men in times of difficulty are mentioned this very principle is propounded. Even from our Shastras it is clear that there is no objection whatever to the use of horse-flesh. Every one of you is familiar with the account of the great horse-sacrifices performed in ancient times, when horse-flesh was eaten. There could not therefore be the slightest objection to its use, when one finds oneself hard pressed by the enemy. I should have, with my relations and others of my caste, taken part in the War, shared your toils and your difficulties, with great pleasure. Then this question about

food would have been easily solved. But unfortunately the opportunity has not fallen to my lot and now it is impossible to join you, and therefore I make this most ardent, earnest and sincere appeal to you, my brethren, that on this occasion, with in undaunted heart, remembering the duty enjoined by the Shastras in times of difficulty, you should live on the food available, and performing your duty, maintain unsullied the reputation of your forefathers. You are already aware how my great and revered ancestor, Shivaji, the Founder of the Mahratta Empire, when he was with his followers a prisoner at Delhi, how that great warrior faced the difficult situation. I guarantee that you will not be blamed in the least for transgressing caste rules owing to your partaking of horse-flesh. You may put the most implicit faith in my words. I consider that I am, and not you, placed in this difficult position. I fully realise the difficulties and give you my solemn word that you will be put to no inconvenience whatsoever in your marriage and other religious ceremonies after your return.

"In witness whereof I put my hand and seal to this appeal. I feel confident that my words will not have fallen on deaf ears and that you will save your lives and not allow the fair name of your ancestors to be tarnished by neglecting your sacred duty, conjuring up caste difficulties that do not exist."

His Highness was not, however, satisfied with this and he wrote the day after this was sent :—

"It is very kind of Government not to allow me when there is a siege. Still I wish to go and won't mind going in aeroplane.

"I know I am not fit for any military work; nor have I any training in it. I had a mind to go once, and I had consulted Dr. Vail whether I was fit. He said I was fit for work though not very hard work, as I have got albumen and sugar. However, as His Excellency has seen me in shikar, I am not altogether useless.

"You know I come from a Maratha family. So I feel I should have something to do with this great National War. Please to send me on such duties as you may think me fit for, such as to encourage the Marathas and set an example to them when they come out of the siege, to cook for them, to look after their comforts and so on.

"I may be allowed, if His Excellency likes, to take a message of congratulations and encouragements and sympathy and some presents and rewards for their work and some special presents for the wounded. When they are out of the siege, I may be allowed to collect subscriptions for them. I will feel it a great honour if I am allowed to serve the poor wounded on their voyage back.

"In the meanwhile I think a message might be sent to the besieged Marathas at this time by His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief that the Maharaja of Kolhapur is being sent by Government to look after the wounded and to see their comforts and cheer them. Such a message is sure to put heart into the men and encourage and stimulate them.

I say all this from my heart. Please do not disappoint me. Kindly speak to His Excellency."

As a matter of fact though the spirit had not, the body had suffered a great deal during the years that had elapsed, and it was not possible for His Highness to undertake all the physical labours which he thus desired to do. In his own State he could make up for all this inability to go to the battlefield by what now appeared to be the greatest need of the War. The continuance of the War longer than many people had expected rendered necessary the recruitment of soldiers on a hitherto unknown scale. At first this work was undertaken by the British Recruiting Parties, who carried on their propaganda even in the territories of the Native States. The Maharaja was helping them as far as he could in his own State; but for some months the results were far from being satisfactory. The long interval of peace which had

reigned in India, making recruitment on a large scale unnecessary, made the new recruiting campaign a source of terror to village people, who were scared away from the parties as soon as they approached a village. It must also be said that the methods followed in some cases by these parties had a tinge of high-handedness in them, especially, when the parties found themselves in remote places where their vagaries could not be easily punished. Instead of popularising recruitment, these methods only frightened the villagers, and even when a man joined the party voluntarily, people often thought that he was duped by treachery or enlisted by force. Attempts to rescue them followed. These attempts were of necessity often attended by the use of force on both sides. When overpowered by superior numbers, the recruiters received a good beating at the hands of rowdy mobs. One such riot took place in March 1916 at Chinchali, a well-known place of pilgrimage and fairs in the Kolhapur State. The Inamdar of the place, a Maratha gentleman, was instantly accused of complicity in the attack made by the crowd in the fair on some recruiters. The Maharaja knew what must have provoked the mob to acts of violence; but it was difficult to deny the truth of the allegations made by a Recruiting Party during times of War. Yet His Highness took a strong attitude in the matter and protected the Inamdar from the unjustified allegations made against him. He wrote on April 5, 1916 :—

"When I saw you last, I was not in a position to say anything about the Chinchali affair. Now the report about the beating of the military people is finished and I have come to the conclusion that the military people were playing into the hands of bad people. Now they say it is the two police that beat them. Chinchalikar is my relative, being a Maratha. He had military education under Colonel Grantham and has a great liking for military people and it is not likely that he will encourage such a thing. I trust in Chinchalkar as I would in myself. But if Government wishes I have no objec-

tion to punish. Recruiting is voluntary and there is no compulsion in India and I cannot see why such rows should take place at all."

Some people were tried and punished, but His Highness succeeded in defending the innocent Inamdar, though even that involved a great deal of trouble to that gentleman.

Lord Hardinge, the greatest Viceroy that India has had during more than half a century, left India in April 1916 and on the eve of his retirement acknowledged the work of the Maharaja in fitting terms. He wrote on the 14th of March :—

"I desire on this occasion to express my high appreciation of the loyalty which Your Highness has always shown to His Majesty the King Emperor and to acknowledge the assistance which you have given to the Empire during the present crisis."

His Highness replied on March 31 :—

"I keenly feel that owing to the limited resources of my small State, I have not been able to be of service to Government in the way I heartily wished to be. It is, however, a source of gratification to me that my humble services offered with whole-hearted loyalty have been accepted and appreciated by Your Excellency. It is earnestly hoped that the noble sacrifices the Allies are making may bear fruit and the War may soon end, crushing for ever the spirit of Teutonic militarism.

"My predecessors and my whole family have always endeavoured to maintain the most harmonious relations with the British Government and it has been my constant aim to follow in their footsteps. It is, therefore, a source of great pride to me that Your Excellency should have alluded to those relations in your letter in such complimentary terms."

When His Highness heard of the surrender of the besieged army at Kut, he felt deeply and wired to the Governor :—

"I desire to offer my deepest sympathies for the fate of the gallant force at Kut-el-Amara. The noble stand they made against heavy odds will forever be remembered as a most brilliant episode of the war."

The Chinchali *maramari* was unfortunately not the least of His Highness' trouble from the mistakes of the Recruiters. A far more serious aspect was assumed by an alleged forcible enrolment by a Recruiting Party in Kolhapur and attempted retaliation by the friends of the recruits. This is another of the incidents of his life, which it is not possible to discuss in all their details for years to come. I shall, therefore, content myself with a brief narrative of what took place, leaving it to the future to supplement the story wherever necessary. It seems that about the beginning of February, the Recruiting Party under Captain Daphle who was working in Kolhapur for some months without much success—about a dozen recruits had been secured in about the same number of months—was joined by one Naik who had a grudge against the State in connection with the Chinchali riot mentioned before. The prevailing rumours, true or false it would always be hard to say, about the malpractices of the recruiters who carried on their work entirely independently of the State authorities gained fresh strength, and there was a widespread panic in the City. The stories about men being kidnapped by the Recruiters spread like wild fire, and labourers, coolies, cartmen and traders refused to go to Kolhapur for fear of them for about a week prior to the 16th of February. Though complaints were carried to the Captain, nothing effective seems to have been done to check these terrorising activities of the men. Probably instigated by some of the seditionists who had regained their liberty from the jail after serving the full term of their imprisonment in the cases we have already described before and also inspired by Brahmin agitators in the city who would obviously be glad to bring the Darbar into some scrape or other, some ignorant but spirited gymnasts in Kolhapur made up their minds to rescue men who, they thought, were being forced to join the army. A placard was put up in the famous Ambabai Temple in which people were exhorted to move about armed with sticks and rescue every

one who was taken by force. The Police got hold of this and extra preparations were made to meet eventualities that might occur. In the evening—this was on the 16th February —a mob of about 500 people raided the Shukrawar Dharamshala where the Recruiting Party was camping and where a man was believed by the mob to have been detained by force. Finding the party out, they belaboured two recruiters who were cooking their food there, probably mistaking them to be of the party which they wished to punish. The Police dispersed the mob and kept a guard at the place.

The next day, the Police made inquiries and induced the District Magistrate to declare all assemblies of five or more persons armed with sticks and appearing on public streets unlawful. During the night, however, a recruiter was assaulted in the Mangalwar Peth. The ringleader of the assaulters, one Gavandi, was arrested by the Police and locked up in the Police Office in the Gujari. On the morning of the 18th, a mob assembled in front of the Office and demanded release of the Gavandi on bail. While the Police were trying to disperse them, His Highness who had been absent at Savantwadi for the marriage of a relative arrived on the spot. An attempt was made to enforce the wish of the mob to get their leader enlarged on bail by assuming a somewhat threatening demeanor, whereon His Highness got some leading members of the assemblage arrested and cleared out the road. He followed this action by the levy of a Punitive Police on the City and punishments were inflicted upon the men of his own police, who had been guilty of any slackness in duty. The actual rioting by the mob ended with this incident. In itself it was undeniably a trivial matter and would deserve no notice whatever. But the riot had a more serious sequel. Though perfect quiet followed the incidents of the morning on the 18th, His Highness requested the Resident to send some Kolhapur Infantry men for picketing the roads in the City. His idea was thereby

to dissipate from the public mind suspicions, if any, regarding the prevalence of perfect harmony between himself and the Resident in all that was being done by the Darbar in connection with the Recruiting Party. The Infantry pickets, however, proved a remedy which was worse than the disease. Their injudicious behaviour became worse than the riots. Pulling shopkeepers from their shops to be compelled to salute the pickets and beating school-boys, merchants, gentlemen, Sardars, Officers and Policemen in uniforms in order that they might learn to remember their duty to salute every picket that they happened to see, were among their usual pranks for the time they were on duty in the City. This was not all. After the pickets were withdrawn, an inquiry was started in respect of the causes of what may rightly be described as a storm in a tea cup and the Kolhapur Police were sought to be condemned as incompetent to maintain peace in the City. The gravity of the incidents, it was urged, lay not in the extent of the physical injuries inflicted on the recruiters but in the fact that His Majesty's uniform should have been subjected to insult and that the mob of Kolhapur should have openly demanded the release of an arrested man. In convincing the authorities that no fault lay with himself or his officers from the beginning to the end of the transaction, His Highness had to take considerable trouble and pass through many anxieties.

This over, His Highness at once enthusiastically set about helping subscriptions to the War Loan. On March 4, he wrote to a friend in Bombay :—

"I have just read in the papers a notification about the War Loan and I wish to encourage Jahagirdars, Inamdars and all people in my State, rich and poor, to give their quota to the fund. I am ordering rigid economy in the State and postponing expenses in matters and on works which may well stand over. I have ordered the work of the great irrigation tank and canal to be stopped for the present."

This was followed by vigorous activities to popularise the Loan in the State. In order to give effect to the resolution in connection with the War Loan opened by the Government of India, a meeting of the citzens and rayats of Kolhapur was held under the presidency of Colonel Condon, then In-charge Resident. His Highness graced the occasion by his presence with the two Maharaja Kumars, Sardars Jahagirdars and officers. The Theatre was crowded to suffocation. Great enthusiasm prevailed. All Mamlatdars, Mahalkaris and Karbharis of Feudatory Jahagirdars were desired to attend so as to be able to hold similar meetings within their respective jurisdictions to impress upon the minds of the people the advisability of investing their money in the War Loan and to collect the subscriptions on a systematic basis. At this meeting, His Highness announced his intention of investing five lakhs of rupees in the War Loan. This had a very salutary effect and every one responded to the call heartily. The work in connection with the War Loan was entrusted to Yuvaraj Shri Rajaram Maharaj and Meherban Pirajirao Bapusaheb Ghatge, C.I.E., C.S.I., who applied themselves to the task with great zeal and earnestness. Accordingly the amount of subscription to the Indian War Loan by the Kolhapur Darbar, Feudatory Jahagirdars and subjects in the Kolhapur principality rose up to Rs. 19,34,617, the particulars of the items being as under :—

Rs.		
5,00,000	subscribed by	His Highness.
54,200	,,	Her Highness.
2,25,455	,,	Feudatory Jahagirdars.
11,54,962	,,	Subjects of the State.
19,34,617		

The enlistment of recruits in the State henceforward engaged the special attention of His Highness. There was some misundertanding about it—already referred to above—

in the beginning among ignorant people which created difficulties. But steps were taken immediately to remove it. Among them was the appointment of two officers on special duty in connection with recruiting work. A Notification was issued affording facilities for recruitment in order that the Marathas and other warlike classes in the State might rally in great numbers and maintain their warlike prestige and the loyal traditions of their race. The facilities afforded were as follows :—"(1) The work of village officers who collect not less than 25 recruits will receive special recognition by the presentation of a sword of honour and a shield to the Patil and a silver medal to the Kulkarni; and the privilege of an invitation to the Dasara Darbar will be conferred on them by Sanad. (2) Any person who will bring in recruits will be given a reward of Rs. 10 for every combatant recruit and Rs. 3 for every non-combatant recruit and silver medal if he succeeds in getting 25 or more recruits. (3) Combatant recruits will be given Rs. 40 each to enable them to arrange for their families before they leave. Non-combatant recruits will receive Rs. 20 each. (4) State servants who will go as combatant recruits will receive one-half of their pay during their absence on military service. They will be allowed to rejoin their service after their return and the period of their absence will be counted towards pension."

Referring to this meeting, His Highness described how valuable to him was the inspiration he received from the example of Lord Willingdon :—

"On Wednesday last I convened a meeting of citizens of Kolhapur and leading men and officers from the Districts. Colonel Wodehouse being ill was unable to be present and Colonel Condon kindly presided. The meeting was a great success. It was largely attended and people took very keen interest. Colonel Condon made a very nice speech and explained what everyone was expected to do for the War Loan. We are doing our best and my brother is, as usual,

giving me all help. He is as Your Excellency knows my right hand man and his help is simply invaluable. Your Excellency's speech at the Town Hall was of great assistance to us. I enclose herewith an account of our speeches. The noble example set by Your Excellency is really inspiring and I have taken the liberty in my speech of referring to it. I could not do better than placing it before my Chiefs, Sardars, and other subjects as a unique instance of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. I have heard from my brother that your son will soon join the regiment. Being myself a father, I can very well realise Your Excellency's and Lady Willingdon's feelings. But you have stifled them before the call to duty."

Naturally enough His Highness did not mention in this letter the excellent work which his young son the Yuvaraj was doing to make the War Loan movement in Kolhapur a success. Imbued with the keen sense of duty which distinguishes patriotic Englishmen whose work he had seen with his own eyes in England, Prince Jayasingrao, the Yuvaraj, put his hand to the work with a singleness of purpose which was remarkable. He visited places far and near, held meetings which he himself addressed, explained the importance of every citizen subscribing his humble mite, and created enthusiasm among his people by his own fine example. On July 11, 1917, he wrote to his father :—

"My dear father,

"I have been entrusted with the work of collecting money for the War Loan and so far the collections have come up to about two lakhs of rupees. I expect to collect about 4 to 5 lakhs more. The work of collection has been given to me rather late, otherwise I would have finished it long ago.

"Small subscriptions from many people is the main principle of this collection and it is being freely followed. The rayats of the State are freely subscribing towards the Loan, but in the majority of cases the individual subscrip-

tions are so small that it is not possible to procure a Postal Cash Certificate for every individual. So the money is being collected in one lump sum and arrangements have been made to pay back every individual his money from the State revenue with interest at the same rate as is given by Government in the case of War Bonds. Receipts are being passed for every subscription that is being paid. This arrangement has made it quite necessary to invest the amount collected in the War Loan in the name of Kolhapur Darbar. I request, therefore, that the Government be requested to allow the Darbar to invest the money in the War Loan. I remember to have read in an issue of the *Times of India* that Government have allowed some States to invest their money in the War Loan even after the expiry of the period allowed for the purpose and I hope they will kindly grant the Kolhapur Darbar also the same sort of permission."

This was indeed an arrangement which had some distinct advantages on its side. The State became therein responsible for the investment, recovery of interest, etc., which would have entailed much unnecessary bother to the villagers who lived far away from the Post Office and whose contributions were necessarily too small to make separate arrangements convenient. The absence of some such arrangement for this class of petty subscribers living in remote places in British India made machinations on the part of the scheming people in the villages impossible, machinations which we know resulted in much panic among the ignorant folk who were thus forced to sell their Cash Certificates for much less than their true value and lose the greater part of their investments and the interest thereon which the schemers appropriated to themselves. Under the scheme proposed by the Yuvaraj, the chances of frauds on ignorant people were reduced a great deal, though it is clear that they could not be entirely eliminated without expecting the official agency of village servants to be absolutely honest.

The same day, 11 July 1917, His Highness made another proposal for helping the Government in a letter to Lord Willingdon :—

"I met Mr. Sanders and we have been discussing the best way of getting recruits and encouraging recruiting here. I enclose herewith a draft of the notification I propose to issue. I think the inducements offered may tempt people to join in greater number. Another idea has struck me ; but before making an official suggestion in the matter, I should like to know if it might meet with Your Excellency's approval. We have here our Kolhapur Infantry ; the men are all well trained and very smart. And if they could be formed into a separate unit, they would be very useful and also the difficulty about officers keeping their ranks will not arise. I think most of them will gladly consent. Of course their consent is necessary ; because in time of war they must go wherever they are sent. In their place I would suggest men returned from the front may be sent here for rest and they may do the little light work here. The Infantry Lines here are much superior and the climate of this place is bracing.

If there be lack of men for guards at the Residency or anywhere else, I shall replace them from my Police and Red Risala."

The same proposal was amplified in a letter to Colonel Wodehouse on July 24 :—

"I have a proposal to make regarding my Kolhapur Infantry and request you kindly to forward it to Government with your recommendation. You know how well trained and smart the men are ; and I have no doubt that they are also anxious to be of service to the Empire at this time ; and if they are sent to the front, they are sure to do credit to the name they bear. In their place I would propose that the men who have returned to India for rest may be sent. Their duties here will be comparatively light. They will occupy the present quarters of the Kolhapur Infantry that are comfortable and

healthy. The climate of this place also is bracing and the men would be materially benefited in point of health. The prices here are cheaper than at any military station and Government will not have to incur extra expenditure on that account. The families of the Kolhapur Infantry men will be accommodated in their villages in the State. The Darbar will be happy to arrange for them and give them half the pay the men receive at present. This will be in addition to what the men will get from Government when they are transferred to their military service."

His Highness concluded the letter with these words which showed how keen he was to see his Infantry on the battlefields :—

"I hope you will kindly place the proposal for consideration of Government with your favourable recommendation. I need not say how proud I shall feel to see that my Infantry has been of some service to Government at this time and I shall consider it a great honour if my wishes are complied with."

His Highness was now thinking of other ways of helping the Empire. We shall presently see what he did to popularise recruiting. There was another proposal he made to Lord Willingdon which showed once more how whole-heartedly he was placing every one of his resources at the disposal of the Government.

In August he wrote to His Excellency :—

"I wished very much to see Your Excellency next month. But I had a fall in cheeta hunt from a four-in-hand brake and have injured my ribs. I find great difficulty in moving and do not know if there is any internal injury. So I am going to Miraj and put myself under Dr. Vail's treatment. It was very lucky when Mr. Mountford was with me at Raibag for discussing recruiting and we went out together for cheeta hunt. I was quite fit and Mr. Mountford could enjoy the short outing.

* * * * *

"I have been thinking what I, in my humble ways, should do for recruiting and also for the wounded coming back from the front. Mr. Mountford has been good enough to discuss with me the different points I have in view. I have freely told him what I think should be done, . . . Your Excellency will learn from him what my suggestions and proposals are and I hope my scheme for a Southern Maratha Country hospital for the wounded will meet with Your Excellency's approval. I shall bear a large part of the expenses and feel sure that the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs will also contribute freely. Your Excellency has seen my hospital and also the fort of Panhala. I propose to place the former with all its staff and with all the hospital equipments at the disposal of Government. I shall make separate arrangements for my people. The hospital will be useful for treating the sick and wounded and my palace at Panhala will serve as a sanatorium for the convalescent. Panhala is a cool place and its climate is bracing. If necessary, Messrs. Cadell and Mountford may kindly pay a visit to Kolhapur and see the places.

"My object in making this proposal is that the greater the number of such institutions, the wider the publicity and people will come to know with what care and anxiety Government are looking after those who have suffered in War. This will give an impetus to recruiting. The expenses for the up-keep of such small institutions may be borne locally, the well-to-do men from the Taluka being asked to contribute generously towards them. The subscriptions should be utilised geographically and not according to political sub-divisions, *i.e.*, small isolated territories of Native States should subscribe towards the nearest hospital in the British territory and *vice versa*.

"I have not yet thought out the proposal in all its aspects. But the thoughts as they have occurred to me have been put in writing so that I may not be late again as I have been with my War Loan Fund. By the bye I may mention that we have

collected about 14 lakhs in addition to the loan of 5 lakhs taken by me. So the total of War Loan from my State comes to about 20 lakhs. Considering that the land revenue of my State is about 13 lakhs, I humbly think the result is creditable to my brother and eldest son, who have worked very zealously for it and it will not compare unfavourably with the figures of other Native States."

The work of collecting new recruits, more important perhaps than any hitherto done in furtherance of the Imperial cause, was proceeding apace. The objectionable methods followed by some men belonging to the Military Recruiting Party were stopped. His Highness was now in full charge of the campaign and this enabled him to popularise it with such tremendous success. We have noted above the inducements offered by His Highness to intending recruits. They were not, however, as successful as was desired. In the meantime, His Highness was engrossed in a consideration of the way he should rectify the wrongs committed by the Kulkarnis of the villages against ignorant and easily-duped ryots in the State. The strict letter of the law under which the relations between the cunning and literate few on the one hand and the ignorant and credulous many on the other were determined by Courts led to what may be perfectly legal but what were in many cases unjust results. I shall have to revert to this topic in a future chapter. It is, therefore, enough to say that His Highness decided that the rigours of the law should be relaxed in favour of the defrauded poor to whom justice may be given through what were called the Arbitration Courts now introduced by him. The condition laid down was that those who took advantage of these compulsory arbitrations in disputes, settled by the strict letter of the law, but still continuing in the sense that complaints of injustice done to the ignorant remained, should themselves join the army or provide recruits for it on their own account. Persons in the fullest confidence of His Highness, like the Yuvaraj himself and Prince Shivaji Maharaj were

asked to preside over these native courts. No court or for the matter of that, no system that human ingenuity can devise can avoid all chances of failure of justice. But an honest effort was made to set right cases in which injustice was done by the orthodox Civil Procedure and so great was the rush o people on these Courts that that was itself a demonstration of the popular discontent with the state of things existing under the ordinary law. The principle that deviations from ordinary procedure are justified in peculiar cases has been accepted even by the British Government which has passed a special Relief Act for the agriculturists of the Deccan, who have become proverbially easy victims of the cleverer few in the villages.

An Arbitration Court, we may note here, led to a Special Revenue Inquiry Bench. Thus we are told :—

"From inquiries instituted in the Arbitration Courts and elsewhere, it was brought to the notice of the Huzur that the Ryots had been fraudulently and dishonestly deprived by the Kulkarnis and their lands appropriated by them or others acting in concert with them. It was, therefore, thought necessary to form a Special Revenue Bench Inquiry Court with powers to do justice between the Ryots and the Kulkarnis. At first three members were appointed to constitute the Bench for a period extending over six months. Seventy-eight applications were received out of which twelve were disposed of, this leaving a balance of sixty-six. Fresh applications are pouring in and hence it was thought desirable to extend the term of this Office to six months more.

"This Court has adopted an expeditious method of granting relief to the oppressed Ryots at considerably less expense than that incurred by the process of ordinary Civil Courts. The less technical but practical procedure of this Court has resulted in increased convenience to the parties and witnesses concerned."

The result of these measures and other attempts made with a view to the attainment of the same object was a success

incomparably better than what had been achieved before for popularising recruitment. About the end of 1917 (December 11), His Highness thus describes them :—

" Before recruiting was left in our hands they could secure only a dozen recruits in two years. But now the monthly total is about 200. My State has contributed Rs. 20 lakhs to the War Loan and my land revenue does not exceed 13 lakhs. All the credit is due to the untiring zeal and energy of my brother and my eldest son. My brother has hit upon a scheme of securing recruits. I wish you could hear it from him. If you so desire, he will go to Bombay and explain it to you. Our rate of recruiting exceeds even that of the Punjab and I am doing it to give the largest possible number to enable Government to bring the War to a speedy end. Of course this rate cannot be maintained for long. Our special recruiters have become quite experts in securing recruits of different classes and communities such as the criminal tribes, Mangs, Mahars, Jains, Mahomedans, Marathas, etc. When the field is exhausted here, I shall be glad to send my recruiters, if Government wishes, to work in British Districts and help Government."

The Government fully appreciated the work and His Excellency Lord Willingdon was " gratified to hear of the improvement in the recruiting returns from your State, and is confident that this will be maintained ; His Excellency also much appreciates the good work done in this direction by the Yuvaraj and the Chief of Kagal ."

The result of the work done is thus summarised in the Administration Report for 1918-19 :—

" At first Recruiting work was carried on by Regimental Parties, single-handed, under the supervision of British Officers. But it was afterwards found advisable to secure the co-operation of the local civil authorities, a measure which was promptly adopted. But this did not much improve matters. Meherban Pirajirao Bapusaheb, Jahagirdar of Kagal

(Senior), was, therefore, entrusted with the work. He took it whole-heartedly and with his usual energy and zeal, laboured night and day and achieved splendid success. Several Arbitration Courts to summarily decide matters of a judicial nature were opened. This gave no small stimulus to the recruiting work. In February 1918 the work of Arbitration was handed to Shri Yuvaraj Maharaj and his brother, the late lamented Shri Shivaji Maharaj. They followed suit with the result that the total number of recruits enlisted came to 1,926. The expenses incurred by the Darbar in this connection amounted to Rs. 80,000 all told.

"Besides this Rs. 39,527 were collected by voluntary subscription for the purchase of five Ambulance cars to be presented to Government. The Darbar contributed a sum of Rs. 82,739 to the Imperial War Relief Fund, Rs. 16,147 to the Women's Branch, Rs. 14,731 to Our Day Fund, Rs. 8,147 to Silver Wedding Fund and Rs. 6,024 to Lady Willingdon War Relief Fund. His Highness also contributed some articles, etc., of the value of Rs. 5,318 to the War Fete in Bombay and Rs. 1,000 to the Lucky Bag at Hyderabad opened by Lady Fraser. In addition to this, the Kolhapur Darbar purchased War Bonds of the value of Rs. 5,54,200 and the Kolhapur public took up the War Loan of Rs. 13,80,417. Thus the total War Loan purchased by the Kolhapur State amounted to Rs. 19,34,617."

The recruitment that was now going on so briskly included men of various castes outside what is commonly known as the Maratha caste. His Highness names some of the other castes in his letter already cited above. The recruits came even from the Berad and Ramoshi tribes, which were usually considered to be criminal classes. In November 1917, His Highness sent some 60 Ramoshis who were accepted. In this connection Mr. Cadell, then the Secretary of the Recruiting Board in Bombay, informed His Highness in January 1918 that the Military

Officer Mr. Tighe "was very pleased with the appearance of the Berad and Lingayat Recruits at Belgaum." The fact of the matter was that the claim of any particular community for special martial qualities was as right or wrong as that of the Brahmins for special intellectual aptitudes. Nature was not partial to anybody and the fault lay with the neglect of men's training for the duties which they were called on to perform. In the age of peace which we long enjoyed in India, castes which were treated as non-warlike became so by sheer force of the circumstances in which they were living. His Highness complained a year after, in January 1919, that recruiting was slow even among the Marathas for the simple reason that "the Maratha regiments were broken in peace time and they had somewhat lost their military instinct." "So I think," he added, "the Maratha regiments should not be disbanded, even if the army is reduced." The observance of the caste system in the recruitment of the army in British India has tended to efface the military spirit of many communities to which now the Government looked forward for help. It is to be hoped that the suggestion made here by His Highness, applying as it does to all castes, will not be lost in the days of peace which have succeeded the War.

The Bombay War Conference convened by Lord Willingdon came about on June 11, 1918. His Highness was especially requested by His Excellency to attend the Conference and move the principal resolution. It is now a notorious fact that an attempt was made by the late Mr. Tilak and a few others to mar the effect of the Conference by withdrawing from the Town Hall in an abrupt and unseemly manner. His Highness' objections to men of this kind being invited, overruled by Lord Willingdon, thus proved to be based on better grounds than the action of those who differed from him. "I would not mind if men are extremists. But Mr. Tilak is worses" said he in his letter of June 7. In proposing the first and most important Resolution of the Conference, His Highness spoke as follows :—

"I have not come down here to repeat what is already published in the papers; nor to make a *poetical speech. I am proud to say that speech making* is not in my line. I have come here to say what we ought to do and what Government should do for us at this critical time.

"We know that our enemy, the German, has no conscience, no sentiment and—I may even say—no humanity. Keeping this in mind, we must make every effort that is in human power to conquer him. We must raise both men and money for this. The chief thing that is wanted, however, is mutual love and mutual trust between us and Government. We must love and trust Government and our love and trust, I am sure, will be rewarded.

"This is not a time for us to wrangle and to make demands for higher military posts or political rights or lay down conditions on which our whole-hearted help will be given. We should claim the privileges by our deeds and win them by force of love.

"The time has no doubt come when we must compel Government to open a Sandhurst in this Presidency. But this should be done by the heroic deeds of fighting races who have spilt and are spilling their life-blood on the field of battle and are winning military honours. We beg for such thing when we have now got an opportunity of compelling Government by deeds of loyalty and valour in the field to give them to us.

"I for one would not ask for a commission before I am qualified for it. I would be more a nuisance than of real use. It would be fitting if commissions are given to native officers in the army who have made their mark on the field.

"Questions like raising a national army had better be postponed till after the war. It is our duty at this juncture to help Governement heart and soul in collecting and organising manpower and in developing and economising our material resources. It is not a time to spend our money over palaces

and theatres and I may even say over buildings and roads, but every pie that can be spared mut be devoted to war. Even the buildings and hospitals we possess should be handed over to the military authorities. This will no doubt entail some inconvenience and, perhaps, hardship on the civil population; but we have to bear in mind what the people of England are suffering and what sacrifices they are making. Ours are nothing to theirs. Why need we go so far when we have before us in our midst noble example of self-sacrifice and tireless work. I refer to what our President, Lord Willingdon, and his energetic consort have suffered and have done. We have but to follow in their footsteps.

"Nor is it the time to make impossible demands. Some wanted to raise a battalion of their caste to render some help to Government. The object was certainly laudable, but they would hardly make up even a company. And now they are talking of a national army. There is ample time after the war to think of this and, perhaps, even of more important things. But at present let us not allow our attention to be diverted by anything from the main purpose, *viz.*, to win the war. I would, therefore, seize this opportunity of appealing with all the earnestness I can command to the fighting races of India. They should remember that on them mainly depends the future of this country. It is for them to uphold her past military traditions and glory and preserve untarnished her honour by deeds of valour and I feel confident they will not fail to do their part and am equally confident that we are all agreed on one point that we must win the war and for that purpose every one of us is ready to make any sacrifices. I have, therefore, great pleasure in moving the resolution which, I am sure, you will accept whole-heartedly."

Not being the ruler of one of the bigger States in India, the work which His Highness did for winning the war may not look at first sight very big. But the reason was obvious. He had to do the best that could be done with the limited resources

at his disposal. Viewed from this point of view, there is not the least doubt that his achievements in this direction were surprisingly great. The credit for this goes in the largest measure to His Highness himself, though as we have seen he was always allotting it to his colleagues, the Yuvaraj and the Chief of Kagal. These two were carrying out the policy of the Chhatrapati with their habitual devotion to duty. Though they had suffered a heavy loss in the death—so sudden and so tragic—of the young Prince Shivaji Maharaj in June, they continued their activities with unabated vigour till the War was over. In August alone, the Yuvaraj held seventeen meetings in different parts of the Southern Maratha Country, both in and out of the Kolhapur Territory, and addressed some sixteen thousand men on the need for helping the Empire. Colonel Wodehouse congratulated him on this work on August 20. At one meeting held at Raibag on the 13th September, four men responded to his appeal instantly, two Marathas, one Lingayat and one Mang. At Chinchali on the next day, attempts were made to scare away people by spreading rumours that force was being used. And yet the impression which the Yuvaraj had made on the meeting which he addressed there was so deep that three men from the audience offered themselves as recruits. Two days thereafter, the Yuvaraj was at Nipani in the Belgaum District to address a similar meeting. On his return home, his motor car gave way. But with his wonted regard for the comfort of others, he refused to go in the car of others who were travelling with him, but waited till late hours for his own car being repaired while his friends had got ahead to their happy homes. The value of such enthusiastic work lies as much in its nature as in its outward results—even if not more in the formerthan in the latter.

CHAPTER XX.

Family Life & Shikar.

I

Marriage of Prince Shivajirao—Marriage of Yuvaraja Maharaj—Khasgi powers transferred to Yuvaraj—Business concerns of the two Princes—The death of Prince Shivaji Maharaj at Nez—The child widow—Her education—Arrangements for her future—The demise of Bhavsinghji—His two friends leave India—Memorials to Sir C. Hill and Sir S. Fraser.

II.

The usual mode of his life—His love for Shikar—His Self-control—His Sportsmanlike nature—The boar of Khalatee and the trip to Bijapur—The Daring attack on a Tiger in the Sahyadri —The Dajipur Shikar in 1898—The Hunting dogs of His Highness—Shikar preferred to racing—A Tiger killed by his pack in 1910—Elephants and Satmari—Cheeta-Hunting—His knowledge of Animal psychology—His Love for Animals.

THE Yuvaraj and his brother returned to Kolhapur finally in the later part of 1916 from Allahabad where they had spent a year in acquiring further knowledge about agriculture and kindred subjects. On their return home, the first question before His Highness was their marriage. For reasons which are not quite clear to me, the younger Kumar's marriage was the first to be performed at 5-54 p.m., on Wednesday, the 6th June 1917, at Koha pur. The bride selected after much inquiry was Miss Jamanakha, the accomplished daughter of Mr. Shankarrao Jagtap of Saswad in the Poona district. Born in the noble family of the Jagtaps, she was endowed by nature with personal beauty as well as high mental culture which was improved upon by the education she had received in her parental home.

The marriage of the heir-apparent which took place on April 1st, 1918, was naturally a more important matter. Since 1909, it had been practically settled that Princess

Prince Shiwaji Maharaj.

Indumati Devi, the first daughter of Prince Fatesinharao, the Yuvaraj of Baroda, was to be the future Maharani of Kolhapur. About the time of the marriage of His Highness' daughter in 1908, Prince Fatesinharao proposed to His Highness that his elder daughter should be betrothed to Yuvaraj Rajaram Maharaj. "I should like to have betrothal done," he wired, "about same time as your daughter's marriage. I should like all other arrangements regarding dowry, etc., arranged before betrothal, etc." Nothing was however settled then. The visit of His Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad in the following year was probably inspired by a desire on his part to see the Yuvaraj personally and come in touch with him. In March 1911, the Maharaja Gaikwad made a formal proposal in a letter dated the 4th of that month and sent to Kolhapur a photograph of the Princess along with her horoscope which, as he himself added, "I do not personally believe in." The discussions dragged on probably because His Highness did not wish to hurry the marriage until the latter was more grown up and could express his own wishes in the matter. In 1916-17, it seems that "the late Meherban Anandrao Gaikwad, brother of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, visited Kolhapur during the year in connection with the negotiations regarding the contemplated alliance by marriage between Kolhapur and Baroda." By the beginning of February 1917, the marriage was practically settled; for we find His Highness writing to His Highness the Gaikwad in the February of that year that his future daughter-in-law should be trained in household matters, riding and driving a motor car. Shri Bapusaheb and Mr. Sabnis visited Baroda in August to settle the preliminaries which were finally accepted by both sides in September and the date of the coming marriage was fixed to be the 25th of February 1918 at Baroda. The dowry was settled at Rs. 6,70,000 to be paid by Baroda to Kolhapur. The date was changed to April 1, a little later on. The

Kolhapur party reached Baroda on March 29th and was received with great ceremony and enthusiasm. The bride-groom followed the next day and the formalities of the marriage commenced with the Seemant Pooja (reception on the borders) of the Yuvaraj. The procession which took him after this to his residence was well worthy of the great occasion. The central ceremony of marriage took place in the evening of April 1. Among the thousands who attended the great function, His Highness the Holkar, the Rajasaheb of Mudhol, Mr. Robertson of the Political Department and the Hon. Mr. Carmichael were the most prominent. After the usual formalities were over, the bride, the bridegroom and party arrived at Kolhapur on the 8th April 1918 and made their entry into the town in a grand procession. The town was full of rejoicings and enthusiasm and people turned up in large numbers to have a glimpse of the noble couple. They were seated in the elephant car which was stopped at every stage by crowds of people who showed their affection by greetings and loud cheers. They received pan-supari and every other mark of respect from public institutions as well as private individuals. There were general illuminations also all through the town.

The bride, Princess Indumati Devi, now became Her Highness Tarabai Ranisaheb of Kolhapur and bears the honoured name of the great founder of the Kolhapur Raj. She was born on June 24, 1904 and was therefore very nearly fourteen years of age when she entered the Chhatrapati family as the wedded Yuvaradni of Kolhapur. Her parents and His Highness Sir Sayajirao had bestowed every care they could on her education. She knew, besides her own Vernacular, a good deal of English and Gujarathi very well. By nature a simple and high-souled girl, she had acquired all the accomplishments which good education could give her at that age and was in every way a suitable bride for the cultured Prince Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur.

His Highness Shri Rajaram Chhatrapati, Maharaja of Kolhapur.

Her Highness Shri Tarabai Maharaj, the present Ranisaheb of Kolhapur.

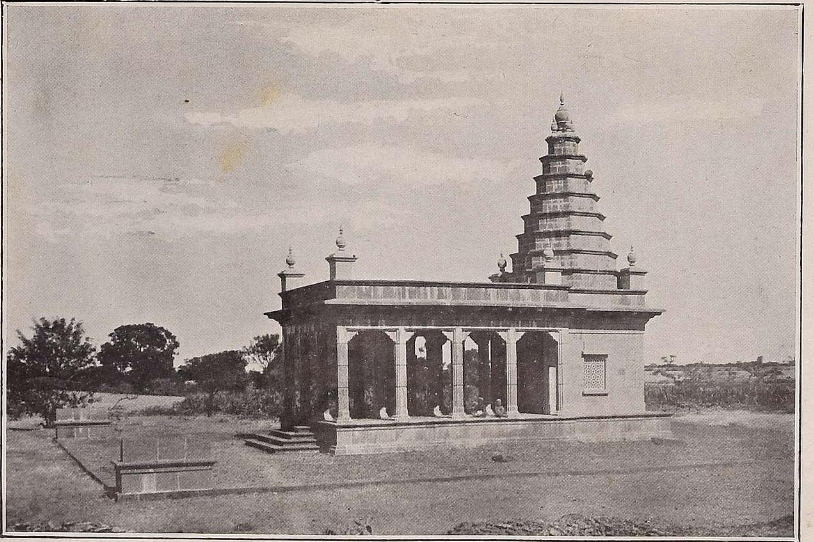
A little prior to the marriage, His Highness had entrusted to the Yuvaraj independent powers in the Khasgi Department. He had begun to take an interest in these things earlier than this. But this was only under the direction of Rao Bahadur Sabnis. Being convinced that experience had fitted him for complete powers in certain departments, His Highness took this step in March 1918 and opened to the future ruler of Kolhapur an opportunity to gain experience and develop administrative capacity. Prince Shivaji Maharaja was also asked to share some of the transferred powers with the Yuvaraj.

This was not, however, the only occupation of the Princes. His Highness keenly wished to interest them in commercial pursuits and for this purpose, he induced them to start business in company with their respective friends. Messrs. R. B. N. & Co. with the Yuvaraj as a partner was launched into existence in May 1918 with a capital of Rs. 1,00,000. The younger Prince had his Messrs. S. A. B. Company. In the same month, Prince Shivajirao presided over a movement to start Co-operative Stores in Kolhapur and in a speech which he delivered on May 5, he pointed out in a lucid manner the advantages of such an institution.

Matters were thus progressing to the satisfaction of the Maharaja and his friends when a bolt from the blue struck the Chhatrapati family and deprived it of its youthful Prince Shivajirao on June 12, 1918. His Highness was then in Bombay to attend the War Conference. It is said that His Highness had deep forebodings of some coming misfortune when he left Kolhapur. He felt sad and uneasy though he could have no idea of the cause of this depression. The morning of the day he left, he met Shivajirao at his residence and thinking that his beloved son was himself sad, His Highness asked him what he wished to have. Do you wish to start a Mill? asked he. 'No' was the reply. 'Do you want to marry a second wife as your first is too young?'

asked the Maharaja, obviously in joke. 'No,' said the prince 'even if my wife dies, I won't marry again. I shall remain Brahmachari all my life.' 'What then do you want ?' again asked his father. 'All my wish is' replied the spirited youth, you should return here on the twelfth to see how I hunt a pig in the hills of Kumbhoj. You always taunt us as spiritless lads. Do come on that day and see if your sons have your spirit in them. The Maharaja promised to return as quickly as he could and left Kolhapur the same evening, the 8th of June, never again to see that son.

The Prince left for Shikar in the Kumbhoj hills and was accompanied by his mother and uncle. After some successful pigsticking in the morning, the party halted in a mango-grove near Nez. But just when they were about to sit down for a meal a pig was seen to be running by and the young Shikari, Prince Shivajirao, could not resist the temptation of having a tilt at it before his meal. Away he rode after the little pig and just as his spear touched the animal, the horse he was riding fell on its knee and the youth was hurled on the ground head downwards. He was at once taken in a motor to Dr. Wanless at Miraj. All the skill of the doctors however failed and the Prince passed away at 8-45 p.m., leaving behind him his family and a child-widow to mourn his loss. The misfortune was indeed a most tragic event in the life of the Maharaja. Prince Shivaji was a spirited and bold youth whose comradeship would have been invaluable to his father, and still more, to his brother during his career as ruler of Kolhapur. His great love of manly independence in all matters would have been a great asset for the Kolhapur people on whose affairs he would certainly have exercised large influence. But all that was now among 'the would-have-beens' of life which tend to nothing but sadness for those who are concerned. It is only superfluous to say that the void which this event caused in the life of the Maharaja was never filled. But it is necessary to note how he bore the sorrow which had over-



The Tomb of Prince Shiwaji at Nez.

taken him. He knew too well the fate of child-widows in Hindu families. Apart from the ordinary sorrows of all widowhood in Hindu society—a life without a ray of hope as long as life lasts—superstition holds her answerable for the death, the untimely death, of her husband. Instead of being an object of sympathy and pity in her afflictions and in the dreariness of her soulless life, she is an object of hatred and contempt for the sin of losing her own husband just as if she had murdered him. His Highness was happily not a believer in these superstitious follies of the Hindu world. He had met and tried many an astrologer and many a deity and had always found them wanting in the powers ascribed to them. He now took his misfortune as a misfortune and nothing more. The unlucky girl-widow, H. H. Shri Indumati Rani-saheb, was henceforth the recipient of constant care and attention from him. She was always with him to the last moment of his life. Every arrangement was made with scrupulous care for her training and education. She became hereafter a diligent student. His Highness intended her to be as well educated as possible and to take charge of female education in his State. With this end in view, he arranged to give her a knowledge of English. The purity of her nature and life was now a source of comfort to him. On February 12, of the last year of his life, 1921, he writes to her :—

"You have given me at least till now more happiness than . . . . Even against your wish but to make me happy, you are obeying . . . . I am glad you are doing this. All things in the world do not turn out as we wish them to be. But to learn to set aside your own will to give happiness to your elders, is the characteristic of a true lady. As education expands your mental vision, your thoughts will be more and more noble. So don't neglect your studies. I wish very much to make you a highly educated and learned lady. It is your sacred duty to fulfil this wish. The responsibility of enabling me to realise this hope

is on you. It is needless to say that an uneducated person is blind, though he may have the physical eyes."

"I am anxious," he wrote a little earlier (February 2), "to make you happy though your husband, your mother and your brother left you. But you must not neglect education and must remain faithful to the memory of your husband."

His Highness was never quite forgetful of the fell disease which was undermining his own health. He was therefore thinking for a long time as to the best way to provide for his poor widowed daughter-in-law. In April, he introduced her to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd when he visited Kolhapur for a Shikar trip. He had expressed to many of his friends his own wishes in respect of the provision to be made for her if he happened to die. When he saw that his heart complaint was serious at Bombay, the day before his death, he wired to Rao Bahadur Sabnis to start for Bombay 'with the draft' which referred to the draft of the will in which he proposed to embody the provisions he wished to make for her.

Within less than a year after this sad event, His Highness lost in Maharaja Bhavsingji of Bhavnagar one of his closest and most beloved friends. Shortly after he returned from the condolence visit he paid to Bhavnagar, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay visited Kolhapur and in proposing his health, His Highness referred to his late friend in these touching words:—

"We have been friends since boyhood when we were together receiving education under Mr. (now Sir) Stuart Fraser, then our respected tutor and guardian. It is just a year since the loss of my younger son. It was a heavy shock to me, but the present shock is still heavier. What I feel most is that I did not go to see my friend during his last moments though I was called by him. No one thought that his end was so close. But it has pleased Heaven to take him away almost in the prime of his life. This is not the occasion to dwell on

Sir Claude Hill, K. C. S. I.

his various qualities of heart and head. Suffice it to say that his loss is not only a loss to Bhavnagar, but it is a loss also to the British Government and the void caused by it is not easy to fill. It is however the will of Providence to which we must humbly bow."

Referring to this loss, His Highness wrote to his Guru Sir S. M. Fraser, the following in August 1919 :—

"The thought that you will soon be leaving India is most painful to me. Even before your retirement, our friend Bhavasingji has closed his earthly career and retired for good from this world. How it pains me when this thought comes into my mind. Sir Claude Hill too will not be long with us. You have both been to me, as a European friend of mine remarked, " friend, philsopher and guide."

There was hardly any exaggeration in what His Highness wrote. If he had any friends, they were Sir S. M. Fraser and Sir Claude Hill. Both left India about the same time and the Maharaja was sorry that he was losing the best of his friends from the Civil Service. He had raised a fitting memorial of Sir Claude's friendship for himself by naming the new Tuberculosis Sanitarium on the historic Temblai Hills two miles to the east of Kolhapur after him. Sir Stuart Fraser's long and happy connection with the Maharaja was commemorated in the Fraser Market at Shahupuri, where the teacher and the pupil are associated for all time in their memorials as much as in their own earthly lives. The foundation of this memorial to Sir S. Fraser was laid by himself on February 3, 1920, when he visited Kolhapur to bid farewell to his old pupil, the Maharaja.

Several times during the course of our story, we have come across incidents in connection with the private life of His Highness. But it is necessary here to take a brief review of his mode of life so that the reader can understand its full bearing upon the important events which we shall have now to deal with in the next few chapters of his life. Early in his

career, His Highness had imbibed, as I have said before, a fondness for a very simple, rough and hard life. Rising early from his simple bed—he preferred to sleep on planks covering a cot—he used to attend to his bath which was invariably followed by a worship of the symbol of Shiva. He never took so much as tea or milk without performing this worship. Then came the usual exercise, preferably polo or riding, the latter being ordinarily used as an inspection tour through the suburbs and the City of Kolhapur. Returning about 9 a.m. if not later, he would spend an hour in looking to his private or political *tapal* and then go for his dinner at about 11. That over, he would go to do his office work though the place where he did this was not fixed. Visitors always intervened at various stages of his programme. In the afternoon, for years he used to go in for gymnastic exercises which were followed by a long drive in and about the City with coach and four or even eight, which he drove with perfect ease and control. In his younger days, he was often seen driving sixteen horses in the narrow streets of the City without a single accident of any kind.

His great love was shikar and he was faithful to this love to the last days of his life. Shikar was to him as much a recreation as a necessity. As days passed, it became his second nature. His splendid health until but a few years before his death was due to this spirited sportfulness which supported him in those arduous shikar-trips which exhausted the patience of most other men who accompanied him. Many who went to see the fun of the shikar with him returned alone leaving him to his strenuous labours in the jungles. In pig-sticking he would remain in the jungles on horseback for hours together with a blazing sun overhead, often for the whole of the twelve hours in the day. When he was camping in the jungles, he mixed so freely with the rustic populace he met there that he would frequently partake of their humble diet and reward them handsomely when they left him. His bed was on the open

ground so that in the early morning he had often to wake on a half-wet bed and with a half-wet body.

A newspaper critic describes his first year and half thus :

"The Maharaja is well-known to be a keen sportsman. His riding feats are truly remarkable. One of his latest feats was to cover the whole distance between Kolhapur and Mahableshwar (about 110 miles) all on horse-back in nine hours inclusive of stoppages. His Highness is a good shot and is very fond of hunting. When he is on one of his hunting expeditions, he walks distances with his *nasta* on his back like a common Shikari. Pig-sticking is, perhaps, His Highness' greatest delight. Some months back while on one of these pig-sticking expeditions in Jat, he followed a boar in the excitement of the moment, right into a flooded stream. It was some time before he realized the rashness of his act and it was a matter of no small difficulty to swim across the stream with all the weight of his riding dress with him. During the same trip he thrust his spear into a big boar with such force that the boar was well nigh pinned to the ground, the spear passing right through the animal and actually entering into the ground on the other side a few inches. Latterly His Highness has taken to polo with considerable zeal. He is a practised hand at tent-pegging, and has often carried off Gymkhana prizes at Chinchali, Dharwar and Kolhapur. Though the Maharaja is a good rider, as a matter of fact, he likes driving much more than riding. It is his delight to have to break obstinate horses in harness. He tries all sorts of variations, three horses, five horses, seven horses and so on. Once he drove a carriage and twelve, in six pairs."

Physically as well as mentally he had prepared himself for this hard life by subjecting himself to a discipline which indicated very exceptional powers of self-control. Until his health gave way in the latter part of his life, he was not observed to have even once become irritated or vexed with anything that happened. He took all opposition, all difficulties

and even all the insults that he was sometimes put to by his enemies with perfect coolness and composure and often in a spirit of generous sportsmanship. As he was once discussing the Shikar arrangements in his own State with some friends in England, another Prince who was close by began to claim superiority for the elaborate and costly arrangements made by himself in his larger principality. After hearing him to the end His Highness cooly remarked that what was described by that Prince—let us call him G.—was no shikar at all. G. was angry and asked: 'Why? what better arrangements have you made?' 'I do not call such shooting of helpless animals a shikar at all' said he; "it is butchery. I must leave the animal a good margin for saving itself or an opportunity to escape or attack the Shikaree. Otherwise it is not a shikar to hem in the animal on all side and then from your easy chair in the tower, to shoot it." This showed a trait in his character which had its effect in everything he did. He called that true sportsmanship.

All the year of his life, he was found on some shikar trip or other almost every week. It would be impossible to describe anything like all of these trips. We shall content ourselves with a few.

His Highness himself describes one of his shikar trips in 1895 in his own vivid style:—

"I returned only yesterday from a shikar trip on the Bijapur side. We had a very pleasant time of it. We had a very large party consisting of 14 Sardars and Mankaris, among whom may be mentioned my brother, uncle, Himat Bahadur, Mhaisalkar, Rangrao, Appasaheb, Nanasaheb, Bhausaheb, Dattajirao (Sr.), the junior being absent on account of his studies, my brother-in-law Babasaheb and Mr. Sabnis, who now rides sufficiently well to bear us company in the Shikar. We started by the Southern Maratha Railway on the 15th instant and went *via* Dharwar which we reached at daybreak. We had a look at the familiar scenes there and were

put to mind of the pleasant days we spent with you and Bhavsingji. I was very much inclined to stop there at least for a few hours, but could not do so, as there was no convenient train to leave by. We then proceeded and reached Malwad next day at 2 o'clock in the morning. Malwad is about 12 miles on this side of Bijapur. From Malwad we went to Mahmadapur where we had received *Khabar* that there were many pigs. This time we carefully excluded small pigs and sows. We got there big bears, Bapusaheb, Nanasaheb and Rangrao, getting first spears. This was on the day we reached there. Next day the ground was very heavy on account of the rains. So we could do nothing. As it was raining very hard, we had to go to Bijapur. Mr. Panse, the Acting Collector, there gave us a warm reception and we found ourselves very comfortable at the Travellers' Bungalow near the whispering gallery. It reminded us again of the pleasant trip we had there with you. Our party went out buck-shooting and we got 16 bucks and 3 does which were shot by mistake. Thence we left for Tilsuri which is about 30 miles from there. At Tilsuri our party got 4 bears. Elder Dattajirao got first spears at two and my brother-in-law and myself at the remaining two. We then went to Muchandi which is about 30 miles from that place. We did not get good sport there, because the administrator of Jat had got the place cleared of prickly pear and, by hired men, destroyed the pigs by shooting and burning them. I was awfully annoyed at hearing this. We are thus deprived of one of the excellent grounds for pig-sticking. I am sure if Major Wray had been here, he would never have allowed such butchery like slaughter. Last we got about 30 pigs out of nearly 100 that broke cover. But this time we could start only 5, out of which 4 being females had to be left alone and we had to satisfy ourselves with only one boar at which my brother had the first spear. From there we returned by road on horseback to Miraj by stages. On the way, at Kalatee, we killed a big boar which had been an object of terror to the

villagers, as it had killed and injured many persons. My brother got the first spear at it."

In April 1896, His Highness had another somewhat adventurous Shikar. He tells Mr. Fraser on 12th April :—

"The short tour I made in the districts was a lucky one. I bagged three boars, one stag and one Chital with very good horns and a fine tiger. It was full grown being 8′—9″ and was quite a beauty. I shot it under rather peculiar circumstances. It was the last day of tour. Every preparation had been made to leave for Kolhapur where my presence was necessary to settle the Harda tender. But almost when we were on the point of starting, my *shikarmen* brought *khabar* that a tiger had killed two bullocks. You can well imagine my state of mind. I could hardly withstand the temptation. As arranged, however, all the servants and kits were sent to Kolhapur and I remained with a few *shikaris* only. A few beaters were hastily collected and I went and took up my seat on the *Mala*. After anxiously waiting for about a couple of hours, I got down almost in despair, when suddenly the tiger burst upon my view. It was looking straight in the direction of the *Mala*. There was no alternative but to stand stock still by the tree. Luckily it turned away a bit aside. I unfortunately took my short gun and shot. It not being a rifle, the shot did not tell as it should have and the brute charged at me. I at once climbed up the tree and had hardly time to take my aim when it came just below the tree. The contents of the second barrel were discharged at it and luckily they were enough to settle him. When he charged at me, I so wished Bapushaheb was near ; but I was alone with one *shikari*. We were of course very joyous over the prize and carried it in the brake we drove in. The load was too heavy for a pair especially when it had to be carried such a long way. I had, therefore, to make a unicorn and everything had to be managed by means of ropes only. So the whole affair was

His Highness and H. E. Lord Willingdon at a Shikar.
(1) Lady Willingdon, (2) His Highness, (3) Lord Willingdon, (4) Shri Bapusaheb.

very funny and it attracted crowds of villagers as we went along."

The daring of this *shikar* was so great that his friends felt anxious about his ways and adviced him not to run after such *shikar*. His Highness Bhavsingji wrote on 20th April :—

"You will be surprised to read another letter so soon; but if you cannot anticipate the why of it, let me tell you that one of the issues of the newspapers yesterday furnished me with delightful intimation that Your Highness succeeded in performing a deed of valour killing a gigantic tiger which intimation almost enraptured me with unbounded joy. When the first shot did not produce a fatal wound and the animal very naturally might have grown very furious, God put it right into your head that you sprang up on an adjoining tree ; otherwise it would have produced a very bad consequence. My humble request to Your Highness is that whenever you go out big-game-shooting, you should have at least one or two faithful attendants by you. Let me once more congratulate you on your perseverance and presence of mind and the daring spirit which you exhibited at the time."

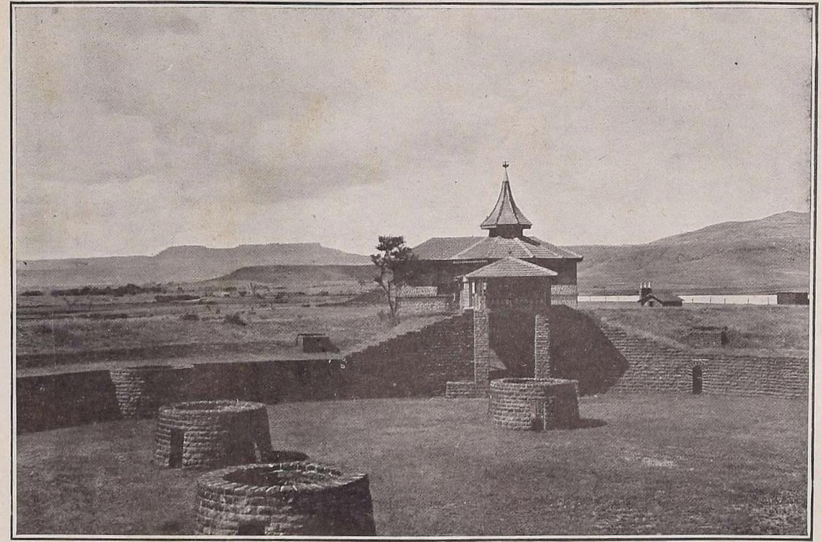
And well may Bhavsingji have felt anxious. In almost every big game *shikar*, His Highness was taking very serious risks. The plunge into an unknown stream while in pursuit of a pig has been referred to already. His Highness was all alone at the time and when he got across the stream after swimming a long distance in full dress, he walked two long miles in the same wet clothes until he saw Mr. Sabnis seated on the top of a hill. Mr. Sabnis could hardly recognise him till he came close to him. Undressing himself, he took Mr. Sabnis' dhotar which was the only cloth that could be spared and wrapping himself up in that one piece, he and Mr. Sabnis had to wander about some time before they could meet their party in the jungle. However anxious others may have felt, His Highness took these risks easily until without them he

could hardly live. Thus in March 1898 he describes another adventure, though this time he had others by his side :—

"We went out shooting on the Dajipur side last month. *Khabar* of a tigress having arrived in the evening, we started after dinner, and as the distance was more than 40 miles, there was hardly time to arrange for a dawk, so we rode camels the whole way, finishing the journey in 8 hours. On our arrival we found to our disappointment that the tigress had left the kill. It was also a great disappointment to Colonel and Mrs. Wray who drove in the afternoon. We waited for two days but to no purpose ; but about half an hour or so after we had left, there was another kill. Colonel and Mrs. Wray did not care to go again and so we went by ourselves. As usual I had my own party. The tigress broke out near Dattajirao Ingle (Sr.) and was wounded 5-inch in the jaw. Within ten minutes of the shot, myself, my brother and brother-in-law and Appashaheb Surve went up to the place and made up our minds to go on the track, but before we had proceeded ten yards the tigress charged. Parsharam Havaldar, Bapusaheb and Appasaheb prevented her from coming further by wounding her badly again, and then six of us went together in a line and gave her the quietness."

His Highness began interesting himself in dogs about 1905 which he soon learnt to use very efficiently for hunting. In January 1907, he writes to Colonel Ferris :—

"I am out in the jungles just for a week for stag hunting with all my hounds which you so kindly brought out for me. Besides these I had some about a year old ones well acclimatised and which have hunted all the year round, pigs, *nilgai* and chital. The old acclimatised pack consists of two and a half couple of stag-hounds, and a half couple of fox-hounds and four couple of terriers which hunt together as well as any other pack. My experience tells me that terriers are better than any other kind as they are very fast and can be taught to follow any game we like with a very little training.



Elephant fight arena, Rajputwadi.

"I am very sorry my brother does not hold the same opinion. He says that the stag-hounds are the best. The first day the hounds followed a bhekari, but unfortunately the run was not very lasting as our country-bred terriers finished it up very soon. Two days after that, we had a very splendid run after a doe first, but she was too fast for them. Therefore, we had to call them back and then we put them on a male stag which could hardly run with his horns through that thick jungle. The run lasted one hour and forty-five minutes. Unfortunately the seizors were left on the other side and could not be of any use. When the hounds held him at bay in a Nalla, we had nothing with us expect our bugles and corps. Otherwise we could have got him. We had a gun with one of the riders, but he could not carry it and at the same time manage his horse and so left it behind. We threw stones and sticks at him, but the stag was too strong. We are camping just where you shot your tiger. There is a *khabar* of five tigers, six bears and three stags and a couple of panthers. We did not shoot them as we want to keep them for His Excellency. My brother intends to sell his pack of stag-hounds. But I am going to induce him to keep them if His Excellency could come for *shikar* as last year. I have been keeping hounds for the last two years and I think hunting is the best sport in the world as it gives you very good exercise and is cheaper than racing. It is all a matter of five or six thousands which means one race horse. I have given up racing altogether for the last two years, never climbing the staircase of the Grand Stand. I shall go back to Kolhapur in a couple of days. Since the beginning of this season we have got about twelve pigs, three chitals, two nilgai and a bhekari and one panther run down by terriers together with harriers."

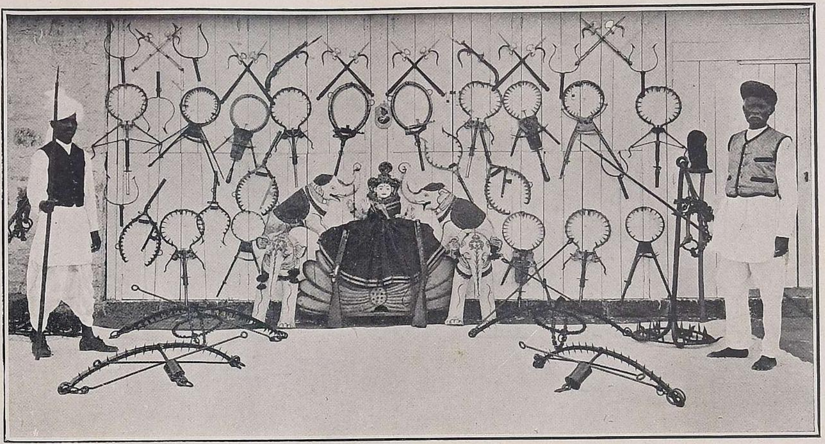
The progress made in the use of his packs of hounds was phenomenal. The climax was reached when he got a big tiger hunted by them without the use of anything else. While in his plague camp in January 1910, he says :—

"I got up rather early in the morning when word was brought to me by a farmer that there was a tiger in a grove of trees near his sugar-cane field close by. Here I had no *shikaris* except one who looked after my guns and there was only one Sardar who looked after my dogs and there were also a few of the men who keep hawks; these you know are called Mirshikaris.

"As I could not ride, I had to go in a bullock-cart and proceeded to the spot. As we approached the grove, the tiger left it and went in sugar-cane field amidst the hills.

"All of us thought that it was either a panther or hyena or perhaps a wolf. We had neither spears nor guns with us. As I had successfully hunted five years ago two panthers and three bears with my pack, I was quite certain about this one. I had with me this time ten couples of pie-dogs, ten couples of terriers and seven couples of greyhounds and Arabs. All of these dogs have been properly trained to come on bugle and move together like fox-hounds. I divided them into six packs as we always do in hunting a panther or a bear. First we let in the best of our packs. On such occasions one had to keep himself fully on the alert to find out whether the panther or the dogs get the upper-hand. This is easily detected from the howls of the dogs or of the animal. After we had let in three of our packs, it became evident that the dogs were gaining ground and that the animal was a panther and not a tiger. The Sardar who was with me collected the other packs that were posted far way and let in at once within an interval of half an hour, the last of the packs consisting of some Arab and English greyhounds. After all of the dogs were in there for a little time, the growling of the tiger became poor as we thought the finish was coming near and the dogs were jubilant in their tone and thinking quite confident of the situation, I led the way towards the scene to see what was happening. I was followed by the Sardar and some of the dog boys.

His Highness as a Shikari in the jungles.



The instruments designed by His Highness for taming wild elephants.

Busts of Their Royal Highnesses The Duke and Duchess of Connaught.

"What I witnessed to my great surprise was a grand spectacle, a huge tiger pinned by dogs on all sides. I must confess that for about five minutes I did not know what I was to do and stood like a statue. My dog-boys pulled me quietly back and we all retired from the scene.

"After thinking only for a while, we hit upon a plan of getting some spears and a muzzle-loader and some axes from the near village. Within a short time some seven axes and two spears and one muzzle-loader were produced.

"I took charge of the gun and as I was loading it, the dogboys rushed in with the spears and axes and finished the whole thing. But to the credit of my dogs, I must say that the spears were used in two places only.

"Four of the dogs were killed and six wounded."

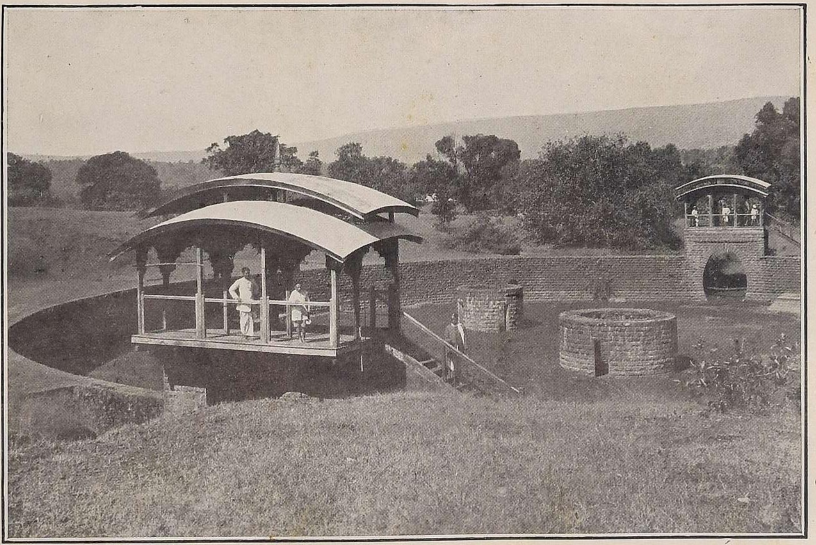
It is not in the least surprising to find Mr. Fraser congratulating the Maharaja on this victorious struggle of his packs with a tiger. 'Such a feat' he wrote, 'as a pack of dogs killing a full grown tiger I have never read of . . . I can imagine what your feelings must have been when on entering the sugarcane you found yourself in the presence of a full grown tiger. Few people have ever assisted at such a scene and it was plucky of your dog-boys to rush in and finish off the beast with spears. Evidently you have still got in Kolhapur some *shikaris* of the staunch type of the old Naik whom we had with us at Dharwar. The whole incident is so unique that I hope you will send an account of it to the Bombay Natural History Society's Journal.'

About this time, His Highness began to interest himself in elephants and *Satmari* or elephant fight. He got a lot of them and in his Sahyadri jungles made an unsuccessful attempt to breed them. But his efforts at *Satmari* were much more successful. The three arenas built for this purpose, one at Radhanagari, another at Rajputwadi and a third in Khasbag, are among the best of their kind. *Satmari* is a difficult science in itself. The chief thing is to understand a wild

elephant which refuses to obey and has to be subdued without being injured. The risks are indeed immense. The huge animal in a state of fury and madness is let loose in the arena and the fighters run the risk of being attacked and killed almost every moment of the time that they are inside the arena. His Highness planned many new devices and got many new instruments of his own design to enable the men to fight the giant brute.

During the later years of his life, his great love was for cheeta hunts. That was a form of *shikar* which he developed to an extraordinary degree. Seated in a carriage of his own design with two blindfolded cheetas seated by his side, he drove four stately horses on the endless expanse of treeless, undulating hills on the Raibag side. That was itself a sight to see, driving on rugged hulls, across shrubs and dales, without a road before him but with his eyes fixed only on the running herds of swift deer scattered on all sides. The jolting was so violent that ordinary men could rarely avoid being thrown down within a short time. Driving in this fashion, the cheeta was left off at the right moment to pounce upon the running deer.

The taming of the cheeta for use in this *shikar* was itself an art in which His Highness was a master. 'How long do you think this cheeta takes to go from here to the Old Palace' ? he once asked Mr. Sabnis while he was standing by one of his cheetas in the New Palace. 'Two or three hours,' ventured the Diwan. 'No,' said the Maharaja, 'it takes a whole day; and do you know why ?' 'He is like a Maharaja,' he continued 'always knowing that he is being led on to a goal but unwilling to let his guide think that he can guide him to the goal he has chosen. He knows he is being led by steps, slow and sure, towards the Old Palace, but he moves to and fro, this side and that side, sometimes refusing to move at all. The wise guide allows him all these freaks. If the cheeta wishes to impress him with the idea that he is his own master, the guide wishes



Elephant fight arena, Radhanagari.

to impress the animal with the idea that he—the guide—too is allowing the cheeta his own way. Thus they both pursue their own ways but in the end, though it takes a long time, the guide takes him to his sure destiny and the cheeta has the satisfaction of having its own will.' His Highness was a great master of animal psychology. And in so far as human psychology obeyed the laws of the animal world, he was a perfect master in anticipating the courses of human action and taking full advantage of those shrewd anticipations. If he sometimes failed, it was only because sometimes, though not often, the human mind refuses to follow the course dictated by the mental inclinations of the *non-moral* animal creation.

His impetuous drives across unbeaten and rugged hills were sometimes in motor cars. He liked the famous Ford Touring Car for this purpose. One of his experiences with the Ford, he thus describes in a letter, dated August 31, 1921 :—

"In my journey once I happened to go down a slope in my *shikar* park. There was a small mound of earth and on the other side of the mound was an invisible ditch. The Ford Car cleared the ditch right away, which was about 3 or 4 feet wide. The Ford was not damaged at all, except that the front wheels were a little deranged which were immediately put in order by my driver and we proceeded with our journey.

"Similarly I had an occasion to pass through flooded streams and the car could stand the water to a height which no other car in my experience was able to do."

Keen *shikari* as he was, he loved his animals to an extraordinary degree. Hearing that the Bhavnagar cheetas were for sale, he writes to Mr. Tudor-Owen on November 16, 1919 :—

"I hear that you want to dispense with some more cheetas. Please do not give them to anybody else as these people do not know how to take proper care of these animals which are treated like dogs. I should always like to see my friend the

Maharaja of Bhavnagar's animals in very good hands, so please send them to me if you are going to dispose them off."

His love for the cheetas was amply rewarded in the form of their affection for and obedience to him. He was always proud of his great hold over them and the use he could put them to in his hunting expeditions. In February 1921 he wrote to Colonel Appleby from his temporary quarters at Delhi :—

"I wish you may once do me the pleasure of having a short visit to Kolhapur. You will certainly be delighted to see my cheeta hunt. I shall also bring my cheetas here next time I come for the meeting of the Chamber of Princes. We shall go out together for the hunt when you will see how well the cheetas are trained and do the hunting."

On March 5, 1921, he writes again to Major Burke out of his keen desire to see his friend's cheetas well cared for :—

"My man has come with the cheetas and falcons. I do not know how to thank you for all your kindness to me. I would very much like to take the two cheetas sent to Jamnagar. The female one was a great pet of my friend, Bhavsingji, and I would like to keep them with me. So please don't give them to anybody. I shall send my man to Bhavnagar to take charge of them as soon as they are there. Please write to me when they arrive."

Amidst the numerous unpleasant distractions of his last years, he found a cheeta hunt the best recreation for his troubled mind. Having had to hear much abuse of his family in some of the Marathi newspapers, he writes to Colonel Merewether on March 28, 1921:

"I really believe in action and reaction. After all the abuses I had and my daughter-in-law, I had now the best cheeta hunt in last twenty years. I got six bucks, not a single doe or a young one. Hunting with leopards is just like coursing and the poor brute does not understand a male or a female, but we have to try our best and turn the females out of the herd and make the cheeta kill the male buck. But

last time without difficulty I got five bucks. I have got a female cheeta which by nature is so tempered that she would not kill a female deer even if she comes in front of her. She will kill only a male buck. She has a wonderful natural instinct."

He gives one reason why he had now practically confining himself to cheeta hunt, on April 1, 1922 :—

"For coursing it has been too hot. My eyes do not allow me any shooting. Cheeta hunt is the only thing I enjoy. When I come to Delhi next time I shall bring one or two cheetas and shall show the fun personally. I have got one very fine cheeta. Delhi is the best place for cheeta hunt."

His last letters that are available, a coincidence which is interesting, are about this cheeta hunt. At Baroda, on 3rd May 1922, he wrote to Mr. Jadhav that, "The cheeta hunt from a motor is altogether a novel thing and I feel sure it would greatly interest Her Highness Maharanisaheb. You will do well, I think, by requesting Her Highness to witness it once." And he did this the same day. But little did he know that this was going to be his last attempt to recoup himself with these cheeta hunts.

CHAPTER XXI.

Educational Activities.

I.

The ideal of His Highness—The Watandari Schools idea given up—The diversion of excess proceeds of Devasthan Inams towards education—Primary Education free throughout—His Highness explains his own educational policy—Sir G. Lloyd on it—The quantitative progress of education during the regime of His Highness.

"FREE and compulsory primary education," said His Highness to the Nasik Marathas on April 15th, 1920, "is the only invigorating tonic that will enable the lower classes to throw off this incubus of the past (the caste system). I have commenced free and compulsory education in my State and I have no doubt that the next generation will be a literate generation." Why did he attach so much importance to universal primary education? Because, he said, "I am most anxious to give self-Government as early as possible to my subjects." It was with this great and inspiring ideal before him that he started the educational schemes of his life. His first step was to create among the various communities in his State an awakening to a sense of their own duty to themselves and to the State. The success of this part of his programme induced him to make a further advance by broadening the basis of his educational system. I have already referred to the scheme which he formulated about 1912 to start village schools on a Watandari system by granting rent-free lands to school masters. The scheme had its defects and was given up in due course. In 1914, we are told that "the report of the Committee appointed by His Highness last year for giving primary free education in Kolhapur State is not yet out. In the meanwhile His

Highness has been pleased to order that the school masters selected under the scheme are to receive a monthly salary of Rs. 7 exclusive of one rupee for contingency allowance during the interim period that would elapse between the date of his joining his duties and that of the grant of Inam land to him." A proposal was put forward to raise this pay to Rs. 9 per mensem, and then to Rs. 12 instead of Rs. 9, which was sanctioned later on.

It should here be remembered that primary education had not been at all neglected during the years that had elapsed. The number of primary schools in 1913-14 was 324, while the number of pupils in them was 13,812. That was a satisfactory progress by itself. It will thus be seen that the scheme now propounded was not the initiation of a new policy. But it was only an extension of a policy hitherto followed, with this difference that the determination to make primary education universal was greater now than before.

I have said above that the Watandari basis of new schools to be opened henceforward or the attempt to bring the older ones on it was ultimately given up. It was not given up, however, for some years. In January 1916 the Educational Inspector was asked to find out lands forfeited to the State on some ground or other and to ascertain charitable grants of lands which could, after meeting their original purposes, support primary schools from out of their proceeds; so that these could be assigned to the schools. In July 1917, we however find him sanctioning a sum of Rs. 80,000 out of State Revenues and Rs. 20,000 out of the new Devasthan (charitable gifts) Department for the purpose of making primary education free and compulsory. This seems to have been the final abandonment of the Watan Schools idea.

A word of explanation in respect of the diversion of Devasthan Excess Profits to education may not be out of place here. The magnificent alienations made by former kings and other

philanthropists to various deities throughout India and especially in the Deccan have come to be treated by the British Government as radically different in nature from what are now known as Service Inams. This differential treatment of Inams by the British rulers is fundamentally erroneous and its only justification, if there was any at all, was that expediency necessitated non-interference with as many Inams as possible in the case of British India, because the new Government therein was a foreign Government which attached the greatest importance to the task of conciliating public opinion with the new rule in substitution of indigenous rule. In principle, however, the Devasthan Inams were given as much for public purposes as any others. The grantees of the one class were as much under an obligation to render public service as those who were treated as holders of Service Watans. But policy dictated the course which the British Government followed in British India with results which have been far from being satisfactory from the point of view of the Indian public at large. The properties attached to deities and objects of a like nature, in fact, all Watans other than those which implied direct service to the Administration itself, were placed by the British Government under a new category. They became practically the personal property of their holders, although they were in their origin no more than mere trustees for them. They became liable to transfers at will and changed hands in many cases. The Courts unwillingly accepted some responsibility regarding their management by admitting suits for accounts or even for framing schemes of management under certain circumstances. But this interference from Courts was hedged in by numerous conditions which made their control almost, though not wholly, nugatory. The munificence of an older generation thus became a source of private enjoyment by a certain class of people. The original object of the grant was in many cases entirely neglected. The religious institutions enjoying those grants derived but little benefit from the gifts

made in their name and for their good. The holders became a class given usually to a wasteful and often an immoral life. The larger Devasthans became and they have not ceased yet to be, centres of luxury if not of positive immorality. Attempts have been made in British India, and they are still going on with better hopes of success under the more popular Legislatures now introduced, to secure better control and better management of these heritable endowments. The great legislative measure introduced in the Madras Council by the Chief, non-Brahmin Minister there, the Raja of Panagal, is based on the same principle as guided the Maharaja of Kolhapur in the policy he had laid down in this respect. He had been carefully studying the administration of these charities in his State ever since he came to power. We have seen what his enquiries into the Math affairs of the Shankaracharya had disclosed. There were other institutions of a like nature about which he had received serious complaints of mismanagement. One instance of these may be given here. A certain Inam at Chikhali was given for the maintenance of the cow. When inquiries were set afoot regarding it, the alienee got scent of the impending trouble and sold it to an ignorant agriculturist who thus became responsible for the trust though he had never bargained for it when he purchased it. His Highness, therefore, decided that the Devasthan Department should investigate questions of this nature, provide for the proper expenditure of the institution concerned and apply the excess profits to educational purposes.

The sanction for an additional expenditure of a lakh of rupees was accompanied by the total abolition of all fees from children attending primary schools. A committee of three non-Brahmin gentlemen was at the same time appointed to frame a scheme for spending the amount. In September, it was decided to introduce compulsion in the capital of the State and the Taluka Towns. Girls were excluded from compulsion in the first instance. At the end of 1918-19

the result of this activity was that "the Inspector of Free and Compulsory Educational Department" opened ninety-five schools at diffeient villages against twenty-seven of the preceding year. Of these the first school was opened by His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja at Chikhali, Peta Karveer, on the 4th March 1918. These schools provided means of education for the boys of hundred villages, the population of which was estimated at 75,854. The total number of boys attending these schools was 4,631 and the expenditure incurred in connection therewith amounted to Rs. 5,986.

The new Governor of Bombay, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, visited Kolhapur about the end of 1919. His Highness availed himself of the occasion for expounding his educational policy and for reviewing its results. In this respect, "my principle has been," he said, "to take care of the weak among my subjects more than the strong. Their condition has from the first appealed to me personally, and it has been the one aim of my administration to do my level best to cure the evil. With this end in view, I have been labouring hard for the last twenty-five years. I have been offering them special facilities to learn. When I assumed my powers, I found that they had no leader. That was a great want. The evil of India is that each caste looks after its own people and they are indifferent to others. I, therefore, encouraged the different castes such as Marathas, Lingayats, Jains, Tailors, Goldsmiths, Mahomedans and the Depressed Classes or "Untouchables," as they are called, to have their own hostels. There the boys are looked after by superintendents of their own castes. They can study there free from the unhealthy influence of their homes. I have also opened a separate class for Patils. The occasion of the Great Delhi Darbar was taken advantage of and, in memory of it, this class was started to train village officers and their sons for the duties of Patils and Talatis. These classes are proving more and more useful and the Talatis are working efficiently."

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd.

"Different communities," he continued, "want different sorts of institutions. The Marathas would like to have a Sandhurst College, while the literary classes will desire to have an Arts College, but very few would care to go in for technical or industrial institutions. At present the money collected from all classes goes to support institutions for the benefit only of the intellectual classes. But I am for encouraging first such institutions as will be useful to all, and with this object I have recently introduced the measure of free and compulsory education. That is essential for progress in every branch, industrial, commercial, etc. Instead of applying their energy to institutions for secondary and higher education, educational bodies should, I think, work hard for the spread of free primary education. It was my friend Lord Sydenham, who agreed with and encouraged me in this measure. I am quite aware of the difficulties in the way of making primary education compulsory, but to make it free is not so very difficult."

His Excellency could not fail to be impressed by the sound principles on which the work had hitherto progressed. The educational policy which he himself enunciated afterwards for the Bombay Presidency, one may claim, bears some marks on it of the impression which the Kolhapur policy must have left on his mind. "It was not necessary for me," he said in reply to the speech of His Highness, "to have had the interesting afternoon that I had to-day in going round some of the institutions to know what has been done under your auspices and by your direction, and that you had given to the people that great gift of free education. I had not heard much about the hostel system which you have started, till I saw it this afternoon, but I may say first that I was very much impressed by it, because there you have started a system which makes it possible for boys of all classes and all creeds without let or hindrance, to find their way and avail themselves of the opportunities of education without which they have often found impediments to their progress. I have also heard

more recently of the able administration in regard to food control and I understand that as soon as Your Highness took a personal interest in that matter, the control in this State at once assumed good guidance, and that all discontent and difficulty were removed. I believe that Your Highness' energy for the good of your people has won and will increasingly win the affections of the people over whom you rule."

While speaking generally of these broad results of His Highness' educational policy it is enough to observe that the percentage proportion of non-Brahmin pupils to Brahmin pupils in the Rajaram College increased very steadily during all these years. In 1919-20 the non-Brahmin students were 14 in each hundred. In the following year the percentage increased to 35. To put it in another way, while 6 out of 79 pupils in the College belonged to the Backward Classes in 1894, the year of accession, in 1919 we find 28 out of 102 belonged to these classes and in the last year of his reign they rose to 100 out of 265 which is nearly 39 per cent. Taking the total figures of the other schools in the State, we find that the total rose from 10,844 pupils in 1894 to 27,830 in 1921-22. It is still more instructive to note that the Brahmin pupils rose from 2,522 to 2,722, the reason for this slight nature of the increase being that even before 1894 the Brahmins had reached a maximum excellence in the attendance of their boys at schools. This will be evident from a reference to the very high percentage of literacy which they had long ago reached and which has been mentioned at the end of Chapter II. The non-Brahmin pupils on the other hand rose from 8,088 in 1894 to 21,027 in 1921-22 and the so-called ' Untouchables ' rose from 234 to over nine times as much, *i.e.*, 2,162 in 1921-22. When His Highness assumed charge of his State, the expenditure incurred on education including the College was less than a lakh. It mounted up to Rs. 3,01,583 in 1921-22.

II

The Rajaram College—Its weakness owing to lack of finances—Jahagirdars withdraw their assistance—College ordered to be closed in 1918—Considerations which induced him to modify this decision—College transferred to a non-official Board—This being a failure, the College transferred to the Arya Samaj since June 1919—How the Arya Samaj came in—The Brahmin regaining his influence about 1917—The circumstances which turned the tables—The Arya Samaj and the Satya Samaj compared—The institutions started under the auspices of the Arya Samaj—H. H. presides over the Navasari Arya Conference in December 1918—His attack on the prevailing superstitions—The need of Arya Samaj—The extremist tendencies of some Samajists—The Maharaja's reply—H. H. presides at the Kurmi Conference—And at the Bhavnagar-Arya Conference—An appeal to the Arya Samaj.

One of the most important changes which His Highness introduced in the education system of the State was the intended closure of the Rajaram College, which ultimately led to its transference to the control of the United Provinces Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. This College, started during His Highness' minority, had continued to live a somewhat effete life for years past, chiefly because it was only a Second Grade Institution and the finances of the State could not permit its being raised to the grade of a full Arts College. When the Rajaram High School, subsequently developed into a College, was started—to use the words of His Highness himself—" a sort of voluntary compulsory contribution was levied from holders of alienated villages and feudatory Jahagirdars of Kolhapur for helping higher education. So long as the State was under the British Administration, contributions came without difficulty. On my coming into power, however the Jahagirdas of Ichalkaranji and Vishalgad and Bawada thought fit to withdraw their contributions and refused to pay them. The matter was represented by the Darbar to Government who were pleased to inform them that the feudatories would be ill advised to withdraw their contributions from so useful an educational institution. But notwithstanding repeated calls, the Jahagirdars were stubborn

and the example of the Jahagirdars proved catching. That partly diminished the funds which were reckoned upon when the College was established." He continued to maintain the College in spite of all these difficulties for many years. But by doing so, he was compelled to divert substantial funds from the essential cause of mass education on which he had set his heart. In April 1918, he decided that the time had come when he could dispense with the College and free himself from the responsibility of running it and concentrate his attention on primary education in his own State. This was primarily due to the growing conviction whichwas coming rapidly upon him that, if a choice had to be made at all, preference must be given to the claims of the masses upon public revenues to those of a few classes in the State and on its borders who enjoyed benefits from the expenditure on higher education. The opportunity to make the choice was ripe when it came to be known that the Karnatic, hitherto going without a single College, would have two of them at Dharwar and Sangli. The possibility of his shutting down the Rajaram College leading to hardships for the College going boys was thus a very remote one. His Highness therefore ordered that the College should be closed from June 1918.

The step thus taken, however, involved two inconveniences which soon induced him to change his plan. The sudden adoption of such a measure affected not only the State, but the University to which the College was affiliated and the rising generation in the neighbouring parts of the State. What was still more important was that the fine Hostel system which His Highness had reared with such care and labour in Kolhapur and from which he rightly expected to revolutionise the social fabric of the Maharashtra and the Karnatic, would have suffered an irretrievable loss by the permanent abolition of the Rajaram College at Kolhapur and the unique reputation which that City had established as the mother of non-Brahmin education in the Deccan would have

been unhappily shaken. These considerations did not take long to effect a change in His Highness' attitude towards the College. In May 1918, he modified the original order by postponing his final decision by a year and a half during which period the College was entrusted to the management of a Committee of non-officials with Dr. Kurtkoti, then on the Gadi of the Kolhapur Math, as its Chairman. The idea was to enable the public of Kolhapur or elsewhere to evolve during this period some means of perpetuating the College as a a State-aided private College. This attempt, however, did not succeed. Dr. Kurtkoti openly boasted that he would apply the revenues of his entire Jahagir as Swami to the College, provided such a necessity arose, and maintain the College permanently. But, as a critic observed at the very time, his extravagance had already depleted the Kolhapur Math to its farthest limits and the boast was empty if nothing worse. His Highness had, therefore, to look elsewhere for an agency which could run the College with his assistance. Representatives of the Fergusson College, Messrs. Paronjapye and Kanitkar, were invited in June 1918 to discuss the possibility of their Society taking over the management of the College. Ultimately they declined. A proposal was made to one or two non-Brahmin gentlemen who, however, found that it was not then practicable for the persons approached to bear the responsibilities. "The American Mission here, who," His Highness says, "under the Darbar's encouragement and support have opened a High School which bids fair to be a flourishing institute, were then asked if they would take over the College. But they told the Darbar that it would be purely on missionary lines and it would be a mission institute. So the College could not be handed over to them. Then some members of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, United Provinces, approached the Darbar with a prayer that the institute may be given to their society. The Sabha consists of members who favour social reforms and under their auspices the College will flourish

and will, I think, be a centre for education to all non-Brahmin classes. The latter find no encouragement in purely Brahmin institutes and naturally cannot take advantage of them. From all Poona schools there were not more than two Maratha Matriculates last year. Various causes are assigned but the result in no way reflects credit on them, viewed of course from a non-Brahmin point. I was, therefore, inclined to think that our College will be an inviting institute for non-Brahmin students. I shall of course be responsible for the institute as I am for my whole administration and shall take special care to make inquiries about persons imported into the State by the Sabha. I need hardly say I recognise my responsibility in the matter." From June 1919, therefore, the College was transferred to the charge of the Arya Samaj Society of the United Provinces.

I think it may be appropriate here to turn for a moment to the connection of this new factor in the life of the Maharaja with the Kolhapur State. Until about the end of 1917, if not to the death of his younger son in June 1918, His Highness had not finally thrown off the priestly yoke of the Brahmin. Mr. Appasaheb Rajopadhye, the hereditary Brahmin Priest of his family who waged the anti-Vedokta War on behalf of the Brahmins, had soon found out that he had blundered egregiously by becoming a victim of the obstinate folly of his Brahmin friends and for some years past he had been hoping to regain by meek submission what he had lost by the mock heroics of his open defiance. That was the game of the priest since he was born into the world centuries ago. "I am a poor Brahmin, the holiest among the holies, not caring for wordly attachments but intent upon the spiritual welfare of the Yajaman. The Brahmin," he would say when he was exposed, "is as meek and as innocent as a cow. Piety lies in protecting the two equally. Why then harass such humble but useful little creatures?" This is how they would spread

their nets. The Rajopadhye party had been trying to hook His Highness by these methods since 1908. And it seems as if the insidious influence of the attempts was approaching success. In July 1917 Rajopadhye was ordered to resume his service in the Palace though only as a stipendiary servant priest of the Maharaja.

This was only a part of the success which the Brahmins had attained. In the affairs of the State itself, the dissensions of 1909-15 in the Maharaja's own camp had led to the re-establishment of Brahmin influence to an enormous and to what soon turned out to be a dangerous extent. Writing about this on 21st November 1915, a non-Brahmim organ of Kolhapur conducted by a Maratha gentleman, who had every reason not to be unjust to the Darbar, wrote that the efforts of Shri Bapusaheb and others to extend the influence of the Marathas and other backward classes had been relaxed on account of the "Brahmins becoming the Maharajasaheb's objects of confidence." "It is rarely," continues the *Vishva Bandhu,* "that one hears of the Maratha being appointed to any office. . . . . Recently wherever one goes, one finds it hard to discover a backward class clerk." And the writer explains how this had come about in this pointed manner:—

"The officer who explains matters to His Highness is a Brahmin; the Chief Judge is a Brahmin; the District Magistrate is a Brahmin; the Khasgi Karbhari is a Brahmin; the Public Prosecutor is a Brahmin; the Mamlatdar is a Brahmin; the Forest Officer is a Brahmin; the City Faujdar is a Brahimin; the Superintendent of the Technical School is a Brahmin; the Assistant Judge is a Brahmin; the Darbar Surgeon is a Brahmin; the Jailor is a Brahmin; the Diwan, the Chief Revenue Officer, the District Officers and most of the Mamlatdars are either Brahmins or belong to the advanced communities."

In June 1918, the writer returns to the charge. After mentioning the modification of the order regarding the College

and enumerating other grievances of a like nature, he repeats that "the cause of all this reversal of policy must probably be the predominance of the Brahmins in the Darbar of Kolhapur." In fact His Highness had no animosity as such against the Brahmins and as circumstances of which we need not make mention here created occasions, he was for some years past falling back upon the Brahmin agency for his administrative work. The same methods of apparent submission with probably concealed intentions of another character were followed in this case as in that of the re-employment of the ex-priest. But events were stronger than their policy and His Highness came back to his natural position within a short time and now with redoubled energy and vigour. The conduct of the priesthood at the funeral performances on the sudden death of Prince Shivaji and the astounding disclosures of frauds by his Brahmin confidant in political matters of the utmost importance to the State were probably the immediate cause of this. The Satya Shodhak Samaj, now without the guidance of its most well-known advocates in Kolhapur, was still holding out to a negligent world around the light of its great principles. In 1916, for instance, the Samaj is reported to have performed 80 marriages and about 1,400 other religious ceremonies in Kolhapur without the intervention of the Brahmin priests. For some time, the Maharaja's attitude towards the Samaj was one of benevolent neutrality. At times, it changed into one of cold indifference. He gives his own reason for this when he says :—

"The Brahmin Bureaucracy here has got so strong a religious and educational hold over the non-Brahmins that not even a few educated non-Brahmins have the strength of character to go against them. Indeed some of them are foolish enough to play into the hands of these social despots. Their religious hold over us does not allow us to break through despotism ; because our ladies and elders are all wholly under their control. 'Satya Samaj' canot break this Brahmin

despotism as it has not got any religious foundation, like the Vedas, which the Arya Samaj has got. The work of the Satya Samaj is chiefly to show the black side of the brutal priestly bureaucracy which under the garb of religion goes so far as even to teach that a Brahmin can enjoy anybody's wife without the least idea of sin in his mind. The Puranas (Mythology) contain this dreadful and shameful doctrine. But even this the non-Brahmins cannot openly denounce. They have not got the strength of character to do so."

There was much truth in what His Highness complained of the Satya Samaj. It had served, is serving and has yet to serve a very necessary purpose in the social life of the Deccan. But it is not a religion or a system designed to serve the needs of a society, which requires a religion as a creed as well as a rule of social and individual life. It is a rational attack on prejudices born of, and engendered by, superstitious faith in sanctified but stupid dogma, which enslave the human mind. It must precede a religious re-construction which Hindu society must aspire to. Even the founder of the Sama was actuated in the first instance by his strong desire to remove the fetters of slavery that had chained down the Hindu intellect. He had no time to think of a more rational system as a substitute for the wicked one that he was, and rightly too, pulling down. I am personally not very much enamoured of the Arya Samaj. But the point to note is that it gave the Maharaja a ready idea for the reconstruction of Hindu society and he adopted it in preference to the Satya Samaj on the ground stated by himself. The Arya Samaj had already been in existence in Kolhapur since February 1918 when a branch of it was opened on the first floor of the new Maratha School by Pandit Atma-ramji of Baroda. An Anglo-Vedic School was placed at the disposal of the Samaj immediately. An annual grant of Rs. 5,000 was sanctioned for this purpose. A Gurukul—Boarding School for Arya Samaj Boys—was started at Kerle between Kolhapur and Jotiba. Large buildings and well-

irrigated lands were handed over to the Samaj at this village. 'The Rajaram Anathalaya' (orphanage) was added about October. This was munificently endowed with an annual grant of Rs. 12,000 by Her Highness Shri Laxmibai Ranisaheb and was named after the Yuvaraj Shri Rajaram Maharaja.

The generous encouragement thus received from Kolhapur induced the Arya Samaj to invite His Highness to preside at its Annual Conference at Navasari on 14th December 1918. In his inaugural address on that occasion, His Highness expounded his views on many religious problems of Hinduism with a candour and directness which must have appealed to the audience better than any rhetoric could have done. "The more one thinks," he observed, "of the torch of knowledge lit up by Swami Dayanand and his Master, the more one is convinced of the hand of Providence in this affair. The religion of the country had completely degenerated at that time. The real nature of the Vedic religion was not clearly manifested owing to its being thickly encrusted. Ancient truths could not be clearly perceived as the works of the Rishis were studied with the help of the commentaries and expositions of the cunning and hypocritical priests (Bhatjees) ; false idolatry which degrades humanity increased to a great extent. The worshippers of idols styled themselves holy. Brahminhood which used to depend on deeds and merits become dependent upon birth. Undue importance was given to sacred places. The local and nominal Brahmins could thereby secure plenty of rich food and plenty of money. Consequently they became idle and vicious and neglected education. In order to squeeze money in a number of ways, from the birth of a man to his death, they prepared books expounding vows (Vratas) and donations ; nay, they prepared false books like Garud Puran prescribing ceremonies like Shradha, Mahalaya, Dan, etc., to secure money even after death for unjust and luxurious maintenance of the so-called Brahmins upon the labour of the illiterate. Learning in Brahmins

began to disappear; and to keep up this source of profit for themselves and for their children, non-Brahmins also were kept back from learning. By increasing the science of Astrology, and creating the fear of stars, new methods of obtaining money were invented. Many superstitious ideas were forced upon society by setting aside good days from bad and by appointing days (Muhurtas) for travelling, marriage, thread ceremony and so on. The word of the priest (Bhatji) became law, and hence the non-Brahmins who were taught to believe that religion and the way of securing the favour of God and general welfare lay in obeying the priest (Bhatji), were reduced simply to the state of Nandi Bail (bullocks nodding to the will of his master)."

After a brief reference to the results of this decay of true religion in India and the subsequent subjection of India to foreign conquerors, he recognised the advent of British Rule as a blessing 'which gives equal justice to all and which recognises the duty of Government to educate its subjects.' The first religious movement which resulted from the new regime was the evangelical attempt of the Missionaries. Then came the three religious reformers Dayanand, Kesho Chandra and Jotirao. 'There is a great similarity between them in many respects, though it is clear that their thoughts and methods have become different according to their education and circumstances of the time.' Dayanand attempted to plant the tree of his Samaj in the Deccan, but he failed because of the influence of this priestly bureaucracy." Brahmin bureaucracy, at the thoughtful lectures delivered by Swamiji in the course of his stay at Poona, came to know that Arya Samaj was poison to it and to obstruct the procession of Swamiji, they invented from their fertile brains the idea of taking a Gardhabanand Saraswati (an ass) in procession. The Brahmins on this side are plunged into idolatry. What else would it suggest to them? Having brought before Swamiji the ass which is an exact picture of their community, they show

to the world their own fitness and nature. Sweet words and arguments are of no avail. Jotirao Fule and his followers saw that the Brahmins must be paid in their own coins and hence placing the motto 'tit for tat' before their eyes, began to preach directly against them. In order to introduce true religious education and religion into the Deccan, the Satya Shodhaks must prepare the ground well. The seed of Arya Dharma will sprout and grow in such a ground made free from weeds and rocks. Brahmo Samaj recognises no religious book. It has picked up like a bee only good principles from all religious systems. The generality of men are not convinced of it as a very few have this knowledge of selecting good from bad. Hence Brahmo Samaj does not seem to spread on a large scale."

"I have already described," he went on, "the wretched condition of religious and social systems in the Deccan. I should like to give my own example to show how the so-called Brahmins are trying to make it worse. 'Being a King, you descend from Vishnu and hence you are a Kshatriya; we are willing to perform rites in your house according to Vedokta.' So say the cunning Brahmins to me. With this plan, they tried to create dissension between myself and my relatives. They are likewise creating dissension between Maratha families calling one superior and the other inferior. Hence the great need of Arya Samaj in this province."

Having reached this conclusion, His Highness strove hard to make the Samaj thrive well in the soil of Kolhapur. He had already, as I have shown, enabled the Samaj to begin its work with some schools in Kolhapur. In May 1918, he had introduced the study of the Satyarth Prakash of Dayanand as a compulsory text for Maratha boys in the Patils' school. The transference of the Rajaram College decided upon in the earlier months of 1919 was a still bolder step forward in the direction of making the Arya Samaj popular and permanent in Kolhapur.

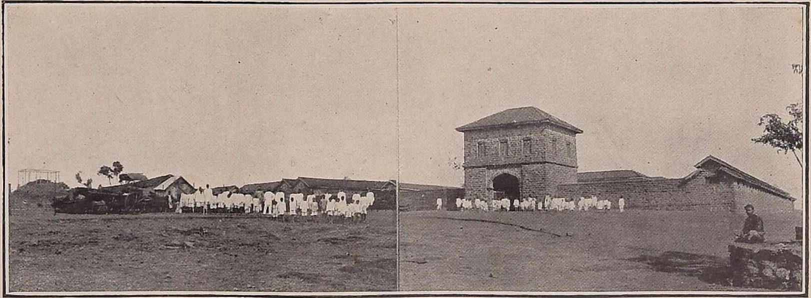
From a purely religious or educational view point, this did not involve any great difficulties. But the Arya Samaj had already become associated in Northern India with a political tinge of an undesirable type though it is admitted even by its worst critics that the Samaj as such had no concern with politics of any kind. But was not an importation of unknown North India Aryas likely to bring into Kolhapur some seditious elements ? That was a difficult question to answer. But the Maharaja's resources were fully equal to the occasion. "I quite admit," he said, "that the Mahomedans, the Arya Samajists, and the Brahmins all have extremists among them. But Brahmins should have some rival extremists to unmask them and expose their religious brands and that is why I encourage Arya Samajists. Religious teachings of these sects are just like East and West. The Brahmin bureaucracy say that the priestly class alone, only by reason of their birth, should have all the power, religious as well as political, while the Arya Samajists say that any man qualified by his worth to wield such power should have that power. This the Brahmins, of course, don't like at all. So the Brahmin extremists and those of the Arya Samaj will never be one. I for one do not like any extremist, but, if a choice is to be made, would prefer an Arya Samaji extremist to a Brahmin one. When we want to perform any religious ceremony, the exclusive doctrines of the Brahmin bureaucracy come in the way while a follower of the Arya Samaj teaches his own religious principles and performs all religious ceremonies according to the Vedas, irrespective of caste. Thus the Deccan under the Brahmin bureaucracy will take at least 50 years more to allow the Arya Samaj movement to take root and grow. You know since my boyhood it has been my pride and a cherished object to overrule and break down the Brahmin priestly bureaucracy. I won't have my College until this is done. I have been corresponding with different missions and Arya Samaj whether they would help

me. This year the College was handed to a Board under the Brahmin bureaucracy and the complaint is that the non-Brahmin boys have been detained and not allowed to go for University Examinations. I have learnt that in the preliminary examination of the Matric class, the Professors of my College put the boys some queer questions. For translation into English they set the passage supporting out and out the rigid caste system. That shows what feelings are working in their minds and at the same time on what lines the students are being taught and educated. I would do all I can to put down such a spirit. If you look at the result of the last year's Matriculation Examination you will see, as I am told, that only two of the non-Brahmin boys passed the examination in the whole of the Poona City. That is why they want Self-Government and non-communal representation. Surely we are not to be slaves and victims of the brutal Brahmin bureaucracy."

Having thus silenced an important section of his critics, His Highness went to Cawnpore to preside over the Kurmi Kshatriya Conference held from 19 to 21 April 1919. The Maharaja was accorded a very hearty and inspiring ovation both when he reached the City and when he attended the Conference. In March of the following year, His Highness presided over a third Arya Samaj Conference at Bhavnagar. In the course of his address to this Conference, he paid Dayanand and his Samaj a fitting compliment and said :—

" Gentlemen, I have adopted this faith as I know Vedic Dharma is superior to every other faith. I entrusted the Rajaram College, High School, Gurukul, Orphanage, Sirdar Boarding, etc., to the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha with the intention of getting them morally improved and this is possible through education. I have, therefore, given the charge of education into the hands of the Arya Samaj.

"I have done whatever was possible for me. I heartily wish that you should found Gurukuls, High Schools, etc., in



The Arya Samaj Schools, Kolhapur.

places like Jotiba and Pandharpur. I have done my duty. The future lies in your hands.

"If with all these efforts Vedic Dharma is not spread, the blame will lie upon you and Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. I desire that some active men will work in my State."

Whatever the response to this appeal was, it was no fault of His Highness if the Arya Samaj has not done more than it has in Kolhapur.

Yet one more difficulty remained to be grappled with before the College affair was settled finally. The opposition of certain Members of the Senate of the Bombay University threatened at one time to deprive the Rajaram College of its affiliation to the University as a First Grade College. After a tough fight, he was fortunate enough to defeat the opposition which included some Brahmins in Kolhapur itself.

III.

Reactions of Kolhapur activities on British India—The Maratha Hostel at Nasik—A brief review of the work there—H. H. visits Nasik on April 15, 1920—The liberal policy of the Nasik Marathas—H. H.'s exhortation to all leaders to end the castes—The Hostels at Poona and Nagar to commemorate Tarabai and Shivaji IV—The Prince Shivaji Hostel at Kolhapur.

The educational activities in Kolhapur reacted, as they were bound to react, throughout the Deccan. They embodied an ideal which could not fail to catch the minds of all persons who had the interests of the Backward non-Brahmins at heart. It was moreover not a mere ideal but a policy which was being followed up in practice by the Kolhapur State and which produced a number, though not as yet sufficiently large, of young men who spread about in the Deccan and took with them the principles which they had learnt and seen turned into activities at the Capital of Shivaji's descendants. How this directly led to the great non-Brahmin Movement n the Deccan we shall see in another chapter. But even in the field of the education of the backward communities, they

and those others who had caught the vivifying contagion had commenced work on the lines adopted in Kolhapur. The Government was still indifferent. It was still ruminating the exploded theory of *laissez faire*. The backward communities in British India could, therefore, make but little headway. To their great credit, however, they were imitating the Hostel system and the Satya Shodhak rules of conduct as best as they could under the adverse circumstances which faced them. Villagers with but a meagre amount of educational or financial resources started the Satya Samaj and Students Hostels and tried to educate the down-trodden and neglected communities around them. The most notable attempt of them all was probably the Maratha Boarding House at Nasik. A few young men in that District, Messrs. Bhosale, More, Thorat, etc., had laboured hard and at great self-sacrifice to make it a success. Mr. D. R. Bhosale was a Kolhapur man, and had received his education in the Victoria Maratha Hostel at Kolhapur. He was posted at Nasik as Reader to the Superintendent of Police and met Mr. Ganpatrao More, an enthusiast whose devotion to the cause of the ignorant Backward Classes in the District seems to have sometimes got the better of his judgment. Mr. More was not a man of education; but he had fully understood the principles of Satya Shodhak Samaj which he was inculcating on the minds of his fellowmen in Pimpalgao Basawant and its neighbourhood. The Satya Shodhak Samaj came into being there and many non-Brahmins began to dispense with the Brahmin priests. Mr. Bhosale impressed upon him the necessity of making the work solid and lasting by starting an educational movement for the betterment of the Maratha and other Backward non-Brahmins in the Nasik District. The Maratha Educational Conference was held at Nasik in 1913 under the Presidentship of His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar, whose generosity encouraged the young workers to launch the scheme of the Udhojirao Maratha

Hostel at Nasik. The institution was a splendid monument to the indefatigable energy and self-denial on the part of the young Marathas who extended the scope of the Hostel so as to benefit not only boys from castes allied to the Marathas but even from the depressed classes themselves. Such liberal work deserved the support of all right-minded men, but even among the educated men of the advanced castes like the Brahmins of Nasik, there were many whose hostility was roused against this work of emancipation. An attempt was made to involve Mr. More in criminal affairs and a Brahmin Magistrate convicted him. But ultimately the Sessions Judge who was a European acquitted him. The District Superintendent of Police was however persuaded by his Brahmin subordinates to order Mr. D. R. Bhosale, a Sub-Inspector of Police, not to have any connection with the Hostel on the ground that a man of questionable character was concerned with it.

Matters stood like this when His Highness was invited to lay the foundation of the Hostel buildings. Mr. Bhosale being known to him since his boyhood, His Highness asked him to accompany him to some of the functions at Nasik which he did. Down came the District Superintendent of Police on the poor Sub-Inspector, who was made to resign his post under fear of dismissal or degradation. Not only that, but His Highness himself was asked not to have anything to do with the man who had incurred the displeasure of the almightly powers behind the Throne, the Brahmins who were wire-pulling the District Superintendent of Police. His Highness assured himself that the charge against Mr. More was as false as the Sessions Judge had held it to be and refused to drop from his programme the visit to Pimpalgao Basawant where he was to be the guest of the hated Mr. More. His Highness' firmness could show itself to beadamantine. But poor Bhosale was subjected to indignities and had to lose a service of twelve years with an excellent record behind him.

His Highness had to use all his skill to get Mr. Bhosale restored to his position.

His Highness received an enthusiastic welcome from the non-Brahmins of Nasik on 15th April 1920. The Maratha Committee presented an address in which they summarised in a lucid manner the great work done by His Highness in the fields of religious and social reform and in the cause of the Depressed Casses. "All non-Brahmin communities," said the address, "are more or less 'untouchable' according to the Brahmins; for in matters of food and drink and the worship of God, all non-Brahmins are untouchable to the Brahmins." They had, therefore, the fullest sympathy with the anti-untouchability work of the Maharaja. On the same day he laid the foundation stone of the building to the erection of which he himself contributed Rs. 15,000. In doing so he congratulated the institution on its good fortune in having men like Mr. More—the condemned of the Brahminical *elite* of Nasik—to carry on its work. "The policy of this Boarding," he continued, "I am glad to say, is worthy of imitation. Though it has sprung from the munificent donations of the Marathas at the time of the Maratha Educational Conference, it really speaks volumes for the patriotism and liberal-mindedness of the organizers to find the Boarding kept open to students of all the castes."

Holding out this example before leaders of all communities he appealed to them in emphatic words. "To the leaders of the different communities," he said, "I have only one message to convey. Do not be shortsighted. Have a vision of the future. To dissolve castes is a necessity. To uphold them is a sin. Castes are an obstacle in the path of the common advancement of us all and our duty, therefore, is to remove it with all the courage we can muster. Hold your caste-meetings, but ignore not the point that they are only a means to an end. The end of our caste-meetings is to end the Caste. Let not then your caste-meetings help to mend the castes."

"Caste enmity is an old disease," he went on to say, "according to the life of the Indian people. Parshuram's act of annihilating the Kshatriyas or the Peshwa's act of ploughing out the house-plots of the non-Brahmins are nothing but the reflex of this enmity. What else can be the cause of the Brahmins calling the Maharaja Shivaji and the Maratha Warriors, who secured to them their tails and thread, as Shudras? To abolish caste enmity, we must first abolish the caste-system. Let us then abolish it and be one."

During this visit to Nasik, His Highness opened the Students' Hostel for Wanjaris, one of the backward communities in Maharashtra.

His Highness was so well impressed with the excellence of the management bestowed on the Hostel by men like Mr. Bhosale, that in March 1921 he asked for his services for two years in order to charge him with the duty of making his new educational policy successful in Kolhapur. That this withdrawal of an energetic leader from Nasik might not injure the work, His Highness induced Mr. Nimbalkar to resign his post in the Police Service and devote himself to public work.

His Highness made another donation of Rs. 15,000 to the Shri Tarabai Hostel for Maratha boys at Poona in February 1922. The Shivaji IV Students' Hostel at Ahmednagar also received the patronage of His Highness. The Nasik Hostel continued to draw upon his munificence now and then even after the first donation had been paid. The Prince Shivaji Hostel at Kolhapur could not fail to draw the flow of his generosity towards itself and on February 5, 1921, Rs. 7,000 were paid to it. In this way till the last year of His Highness' life, bricks were being added to bricks in the course of raising the structure of non-Brahmin education on foundations laid in 1901.

IV

The Maratha Brotherhood—The Shivaji High School and Society founded—The idea of laying the foundation of the Shivaji Memorial at the hands of the Prince of Wales—His Highness takes up the idea—The idea in August 1921—A parallel idea —Doubt as to whether the Prince of Wales would lay the foundation—Visit to Simla—Discussion with the Viceroy—Considerations which weighed with H. H.—The foundation laid by His Royal Highness—The Prince's speech—The later controversy.

A brief account of the still larger scheme of work in this educational programme outside the State still remains to be given. The idea of a great Maratha educational centre at Poona had been in the mind of His Highness for a long time. The Maratha Brotherhood took up this idea during the course of its shortlived activities and His Highness had promised Rs. 15,000 to start with for a High School which would in time develop into a College. A plot of ground was purchased in Poona from this amount of Rs. 15,000, which was paid over in May 1912. His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas took the lead and it was hoped that the Brotherhood would realise the great dream—it is even now only a dream—of a centre of learning worthy of the Maratha community. But the inveterate tendency to allow the disintegration forces to deprive the community of the fruits of its own greatness asserted itself once again and nothing solid came out of the attempt. The zeal and self-sacrifice, however, of a few young Marathas under the leadership of Mr. Baburao Jagtap, a graduate of the Bombay University, gave the community the Shivaji Maratha High School, which was transferred to the Shivaji Society founded in Poona in 1918. This Society was intended to perpetuate the honoured name of Shivaji in the form of educational institutions in Poona, which would awaken the national consciousness and self-respect of the race by emancipating it from the intellectual slothfulness of centuries. The scheme was bold and inspiring and should have called forth the best in the community towards its fructification. For a time the progress was hopeful. His Highness the

Chhatrapati became its President and the Society enlisted the sympathy and support of His Highness the Maharaja Madhavrao Scindia of Gwalior. His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad was also not slow to recognise its utility. Even the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, now associated with the Maratha race by his marriage with the Princess Indira Raja of the Baroda family, extended his sympathy to the Society in the form of a handsome donation. The foundation of the building, the central point in the cluster of the proposed Maratha educational institutions of a very ambitious nature, was also laid amid circumstances which ensured a bright future for the whole scheme. But misfortunes dogged the footsteps of the community once again and we have now briefly to relate the story of those misfortunes.

When the visit of the Prince of Wales to Poona was decided upon in 1921, it appears that His Highness the Maharaja Scindia and his colleagues of the Maratha Advisory Committee conceived the idea of requesting His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to lay the foundation of the Shivaji Memorial in Poona. He interviewed Sir George Lloyd in this connection and then wrote a letter to His Highness the Chhatrapati asking him to co-operate with him in the matter. "I need not assure you," replied His Highness on 16th August, "that the cause of Shri Shivaji Memorial has my fullest support and I am ever ready to show whatever co-operation will be asked of me in this undertaking, of which I specially for reasons too obvious to mention, and all the Maratha community are naturally very proud. I hope you will be successful in persuading His Excellency the Governor and through him His Excellency the Viceroy to somehow or other oblige the Maratha community by arranging the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I would suggest if possible that we, the leading Maratha Princes, might send a joint letter of request to His Excellency the Viceroy as well as Governor of Bombay. I wish I had a little earlier intima-

tion, for I should have very much liked to come and see Your Highness. I hope that as soon as something more definite is settled about the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Your Highness will convene a meeting of us Maratha Princes and other leaders in some central place like Bombay to further settle the details in this matter."

"I am quite prepared," added he, "to go round with a bag for contributions to the cause." His Highness himself saw the Governor on August 29th, and feeling confident that the presence of His Royal Highness at the Memorial Foundation ceremony would be secured, he wired to Gwalior informing His Highness the Scindia that the deputation to His Excellency was a success; that the Prince of Wales' visit was fixed on November 19th morning and that Khasesaheb Powar should proceed to Poona to see His Highness 'with all Your ideas.' 'I am quite ignorant and you must make it a success. I am ready to do my best,' added His Highness at the close of the telegram. The next day His Highness wrote to Major Benson (Military Secretary to the Governor) in the same strain and took care to inform him, "I am very particular that he (Gwalior) should not think I am working independently. . . . . . I am willing to work under him with all zeal." The same day he wrote to Sir John Wood, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, asking him, 'on behalf of myself as well as the Maratha community to request His Excellency (the Viceroy) very kindly to include in the programme of His Royal Highness' tour a flying visit to Poona for the function of laying the foundation stone of the Shivaji Memorial. His Highness described the idea of the Memorial as he then conceived it thus:—

"It has been a long cherished desire of the latter (the Maratha community) to erect a suitable memorial to their great hero, Shri Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Empire. With this end in view the leaders of that community, which has the proud privilege of including among them some of the

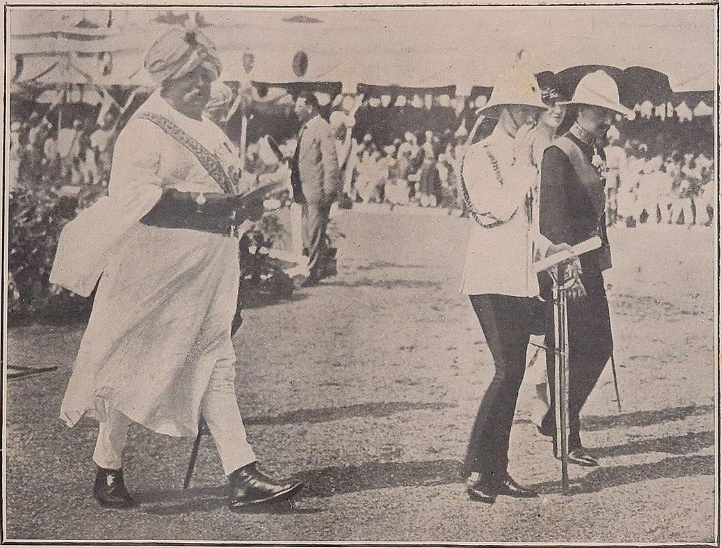
prominent Princes in India like His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, have collected together a large fund. Their idea is to have at Poona central educational institution for the Maratha in the name of Shivaji and, if funds permit, also to erect a statue as a further tribute to his memory. It is expected the memorial will be in keeping with the great name it is to be associated with and will reflect not only the enthusiasm of the community in general but the munificence of its aristocratic contributors."

This is of more than passing importance as explaining His Highness' first impression in the matter. Gwalior had entrusted the choice of a site for the Memorial to the Governor at whose request His Highness proposed on the 4th September 1921 to His Excellency the site which was subsequently acquired. At the same time, His Highness seems to have had in his mind a parallel idea of having a 'Prince of Wales Building' for the Shivaji High School and "of keeping his marble bust in the Hall" for which scheme His Highness was ready to contribute all the money required. This building for the School 'must be,' said he, 'in every way a fitting Memorial of the august occasion of His Royal Highness' visit.' The plot chosen for this School House was site No. 193 at Bhambhurda purchased about 1912 for the Maratha Brotherhood which I have already alluded to. The site proposed for the Memorial under consideration was adjacent to this. Clearly enough His Highness' position in the matterof the Memorial was somewhat indefinite. The two Secretaries, Messrs. Powar and Kalbhor, were absent in Gwalior and His Highness seems to have been at sea as to the course to be followed. In the meantime, it was announced in the papers that the visit to Poona, even if retained in the programme of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, would not enable him to participate in any foundation laying. On the 15th September the Viceroy wrote back in reply to His Highness that though the visit to Poona might be arranged, it

was "still a question whether His Royal Highness will be able to lay the foundation stone of the Shivaji Memorial as well as the Memorial for the Marathas who fell during the War." Every attempt to have one of the two functions performed by His Royal Highness would no doubt be made; but there was no assurance of both of them being performed at his hands.

The discussions were going on regarding the site and the participation of His Royal Highness in the ceremony. On October 2, His Highness wrote to Khasesaheb saying that the site should not be far away from the town as "it will frustrate our principal object, *viz.*, to make the place a centre of all social and educational gatherings and to have a large well-equipped and well-attended High School for Maratha boys." On the 5th of the month, His Highness informs Gwalior that as the site was finally selected, the further part of the work should be commenced vigorously, "so that the Monument and the Hall and the Library to be erected near it should be ready by this time next year."

Until some time in November, the invitation to the Prince of Wales seems to have remained unaccepted. The Chhatrapati and the Scindia had, therefore, to visit Delhi and discuss the matter with His Excellency Lord Reading. On the 7th November His Highness summarised the conversation he and the Scindia had with the Viceroy in connection with the Memorial foundation and sent it to several persons. The argument of the Viceroy seems to have been that as the Memorial was of a sectional nature and His Royal Highness had agreed to lay the foundation of one such at Poona, the Mahratta War Memorial, it would be showing too much favour to one section of the people if another sectional Memorial was to be also connected with His Royal Highness' visit to the City. As a middle course, the Viceroy was pleased to suggest that the Prince of Wales might be present at the ceremony which could take place at



His Highness with H. R. H. the Prince of Wales at the Shivaji Memorial Foundation.

the hands of either Gwalior or Kolhapur. The one great consideration which apparently weighed with their Highnesses was that the public had understood the Government to have already accepted on behalf of the Prince of Wales the duty of laying the foundation of the Shivaji Memorial and the political effects of any other course would be highly detrimental to the cause of the Memorial. We must remember in this respect the unfortunate history of other movements to commemorate the founder of the Mahratta Empire which had been wrecked on the rocks and shoals of extremist politics. The delicate position of Indian Princes taking part or taking even the lead in a movement of the kind cannot also be neglected by those who desire to take a right view of the solicitude of the Maharajas—at any rate, of one of them of whom I have positive knowledge: and of the other, there is no reason to suppose that he did not share the anxiety with Kolhapur—to secure the direct association of His Royal Highness with the Memorial, which they were seeking to raise and which they must have hoped would reconcile their own loyalty to the British Throne with their natural and deep reverence for the hero of Maharashtra. The wisdom and foresight of their policy in insisting upon the foundation being laid by His Royal Highness must be judged in the light of this, to them and to the Memorial, most vital consideration. Preparations for the ceremony had been made on a large scale in the full belief that the Royal Prince would lay the foundation stone. The public had taken it for granted that he would associate himself with the movement in this close and direct manner. Misunderstanding and distrust would arise, said the Chhatrapati, if the programme was changed at that stage. If statues of Parsees and Brahmins were not considered sectional, "it appears strange that a statue in honour of Shivaji who is considered as the greatest warrior and statesman should be considered a sectional movement. The War Memorial and the Shivaji Memorial are really two sister functions. The

one is a movement in honour of the *Mahratta combatants of all castes and creeds* and the other will be a memorial in honour of the greatest Indian hero. The word Maratha in the Deccan is used in two senses. It means the whole of the population in Mahrashtra, the great nation. It is also . . . used in a narrower sense as applying to the Maratha community only. The Maratha (War) Memorial is for all who fought and fell in the great war—without distinction of caste or creed . . . . . It is not at all right to say that the Shivaji Memorial is a communal movement. It is a provincial or a national movement."

If the foundation was not laid by the Prince, His Highness further argued, it would create an impression that the Government did not like the Memorial to Shivaji. It would bring himself and the Bombay Government into discredit. If the Viceroy had any doubts regarding the apprehended political consequences of His Royal Highness withdrawing himself from the Memorial in the manner suggested by the Extremists, who were opposing the idea by hook or by crook. His Highness suggested that the views of Sir George Lloyd might be ascertained by a personal discussion with the Viceroy. This point is of some importance. It is absolutely clear from His Highness' notes that Sir George Lloyd was perfectly at one with the two Maharajas on this question and the allegation since made that he or his Government forced the Maharajas to adopt a course which they did not suggest or approve is a baseless one. The fervent appeal thus backed up by mature considerations at last received the expected response a few days later and the Shivaji Memorial foundation was laid amidst a splendour and enthusiasm which will be realised only by those who were present at the ceremony on the morning of November 19. The non-co-operators in the Deccan had to shrink before the blazing light of the ardour of the great non-Brahmin assemblage which attended the ceremony and hailed the Royal Prince thus associating him-

His Highness requesting the Prince of Wales to lay the foundation.

self whole-heartedly with the yearnings of their national mind. The climax of the enthusiasm was reached when the stalwart Chhatrapati, against the inclinations of the responsible persons about the Prince, conducted His Highness through the non-Brahmin crowds in the Pandal to receive their loyal ovations amid shouts of *Prince ki jai! Shivaji Maharaja ki jai! and Shahu Chhatrapat ki jai!* It appeared to some to be taking too much risk—to lead the Prince all alone into the surging waves of unknown humanity when the storm of non-co-operation was blowing in all its fury in all directions. But the Maharaja knew his people and knew the non-Brahmin loyalty and His Royal Highness was thus able to witness for the first time in India a demonstration of the innermost sentiments of the true Deccan, which the non-Brahmin Movement represented and of the unique hold the Chhatrapati had over it.

His Highness of Kolhapur opened the proceedings in a speech which explained briefly the aims of the Memorial and concluded by inviting the Prince of Wales to lay the foundation stone.

Thus invited, His Royal Highness accompanied by the two Maharajas proceeded to the appointed place and laid the foundation amidst the cheers of the great audience and the booming of guns. Returning to his seat, the Prince declared the foundation well and truly laid and said :—

" Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to lay the foundation stone of this memorial to one of India's greatest soldiers and statesmen. A few minutes ago I laid the foundation stone of a memorial to the Maratha Soldiers who laid down their lives in the Great War, men who proved that the spirit which animated the armies of Shivaji still burns bright and clear. From this spot the statue of the founder of Maratha greatness will look with pride at the pillar across the river which commemorates the latest exploits of the abiding valour of his people.

And what could be more fitting than that these monuments of the glory of the past and of to-day should be inaugurated in the presence not only of the representative of the house of Shivaji, but also of those Princes and Chiefs who are descended from the soldiers and statesmen of the Empire which he founded.

" It is with special pleasure that I learn that you intend to associate the name of Shivaji with important educational institutions and that your aim is to make the Maratha people no less renowned in the arts of peace than in those of war. It is my earnest prayer that the Maratha people will be found ready and eager to make use of the advantages of education, by the aid of which alone they can hope to maintain in the modern world the position to which they are entitled by their present importance, their past glory and their innate qualities of sturdy common sense and self-reliance.

" I will convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor the loyal sentiments which His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur has expressed on behalf of the Princes and Chiefs and people of the Maratha race."

His Highness of Gwalior thanked His Royal Highness for the trouble he had taken. The ceremony terminated after the usual formalities were gone through.

On the day following His Excellency Sir George Lloyd wrote to His Highness thus :—

" I feel I must write a hurried line if only a brief one, to congratulate Your Highness on the splendid success of the foundation at Poona. I know the immense amount of trouble taken by Your Highness over every detail but I am sure that the splendid welcome given by the people to His Royal Highness will be to Your Highness a full reward for all the labour spent."

Major Benson, the Military Secretary to His Excellency, also congratulated His Highness on the great success of the reception. " Associated as I have been " he wrote " with all

the trials and tribulations through which, thank goodness, you have successfully steered, I feel a real joy on being able to congratulate Your Highness on the glorious conclusion of the venture." His Highness was not however content with this success. In March 1922, he requested His Highness of Gwalior to continue the work "with perseverance and earnestness." Otherwise the "ardour will be cooled." "I think" he added "Mr. Khaserao Powar may kindly be asked to draw up a detailed programme of work to be done in connection with the memorial. The work will then have to be apportioned among zealous workers in different parts and an energetic committee appointed to exercise supervision and carry into execution the programme."

This was on the 15th of March. Two days later but apparently before this reached him, Gwalior wrote to Kolhapur that a meeting might be called in May in Poona or Bombay inviting leading men of all communities like 'Mahomedans, Brahmins, Marathas, Europeans, Hindus, etc.' In reply, His Highness wrote that he saw no objection to such a meeting of the prominent leaders of the several communities being called. "But I think" His Highness added "We should also be ready to carry out our programme and scheme even independently of them if need be. I quite approve of Your Highness' idea about raising a subscription of one rupee per man at the minimum rate. I would suggest that we should employ a large number of volunteers from our community to carry out this suggestion. It is indeed an excellent proposal as it will be a propaganda for educational work among the Marathas as well as a means of awakening them from their torpor. The success will, however, depend largely on the work of the volunteers. Thoroughly reliable men who will work with energy and enthusiasm will be required and steps will have to be taken in securing such men."

His Highness' connection with the Memorial was now unfortunately at an end. I am not, therefore, concerned with

the subsequent developments of the memorial controversy. But as his name has naturally been involved with the whole affair, it would be right to observe that His Highness never took a narrow view of the word Maratha when he used it with reference to the Shivaji Memorial. He distinctly interpreted it on an analogy of its meaning as applied to the gallant regiments which bear that national name and whose glorious deeds of valour on the fields of Mesopotamia or Flanders have been sometimes wrongly appropriated to a narrow caste. But it is also clear that though he would not exclude from the Memorial any caste or creed in the Deccan which was included in the Maratha Regiments, he would not allow the movement to be bossed by a community whose participation in the exploits of the Maratha Regiments was *nil* and who had treated the movement in a spirit of hostility. History recognises no ephemeral considerations and in its light, His Highness' attitude will have to be distinguished as much from the narrow caste spirit of a few on one side as from the cosmopolitan willingness of others to cover up the essential purpose and character of the movement with the sublime excrescences of unutilitarian pomp and show. He rose far above the narrowness of the caste, but never made a secret of his desire to confine the movement to the castes and creeds of the Maratha Army—castes and creeds which were devoted to the ideas of the Maratha Nation and which standing as they did on a common level of social life, reconciled loyalty to the British Raj with all their patriotic aspirations in the social, religious and educational fields as well as in the political. If I were to put it in a somewhat blunt fashion he would have preferred to lead the movement on non-Brahmin lines and towards the benefit of the Maratha and similar educationally backward communities. But alas! this is only one more of those sad "would have beens" of his life which was now nearing its sudden close!

CHAPTER XXII.

The Depressed Classes.

The problem of the Depressed Classes—Failure of British Rule to go far enough to solve it—The service that Rule has done to these Classes—His Highness' views on this question—The first attempts of His Highness to help these Classes—The obstinacy of the priesthood necessitates a bolder policy—He tries existing reform movements but is not satisfied—Arya Samaj the last stage he reaches but he does not accept all its dogmas—His practical eye to the needs of his aims explains his superficial inconsistences—The impulse of his movements—The Khamgaon speech of December 1917—The connection between movements in British India and the Indian States—The Montagu Announcement—Unless caste is broken, there can be no Home Rule—Arya Samaj is preparing the country for Home Rule—His new interest in the Depressed Classes due to the same political changes—The Balute system abolished—The Hajeri or roll-call of criminal castes stopped—The first Conference of the Deccan Untouchables at Mangao—The first idea of His Highness to allot all Maharki Watans to a few Mahars—The Mahars propose an alternative which was accepted—The Removal of Untouchability—Untouchable Talatis replace the Brahmin Kulkarnis—Hospitals and Dispensaries ordered to give equal treatment to Untouchable patients—Schools ordered not to observe the bar of untouchability—Other measures—Sanads of Pleadership given to some of them—The reason explained by His Highenss—Personal example of His Highness—The D. C. welcome to the Prince of Wales at Delhi—The Conference at Nagpore.

AMONG the varied and beneficent activities of His Highness the place of honour must unquestionably be given to his stupendous ameliorative work for the Depressed or 'Untouchable' Classes in the Deccan and more particularly in his own territory. And that for two reasons. In the first place it was one of the most effective and far-reaching of the social activities of his life. As the great and saintly leader of the Non-co-operation Movement in India, described by the Maharaja himself as 'a holy person' and "a solitary instance" of the selfless spirit of Missionaries among Indians*

* It may be well to mention here that the Maharaja, though strongly opposed to Gandhi's later political views, admired his character heartily and paid him a visit at Ahmedabad. In a speech he delivered at Nasik (16 April 1920) he referred to him as "a solitary instance of a personality that claims our tribute of love and respect."

—has more than once made it clear, the removal of the in-human and disgraceful ban of untouchability pronounced against millions of human beings by the Hindu community is the acid test of patriotism which very few people in India are still prepared to stand. The work which His Highness accomplished in this respect was, and even now is, one which required the highest moral courage on the part of the reformer and His Highness proved to the hilt that he possessed that courage to a very high degree indeed. The problem of the Depressed Classes in India is very unlike that of what in Europe are known as the Depressed or Submerged Classes. *They* are condemned to wretchedness more on account of their stolid poverty than anything else. Our Depressed Classes stand in a position which has nothing parallel or analogous to it in the history of mankind. Slavery is the worst form of injustice which humanity all the world over has known. But the implications of untouchability to which we in India have condemned a large section of our own fellow-men are in some respects worse than the worst form of slavery. We call them Hindus and resent the recent attempts of Mahomedans and others to treat the Depressed Classes as outside the Hindu fold. Yet we treat them as no one ought ever to treat any being, much less a human being. They live or are made to live outside the village; in an out-of-the-way corner which is the dirtiest and filthiest part of the village such as the most degraded of the caste—Hindus would never dream of living in. They are not to come within the limits of the temple of the Gods which are the common Gods of all the Hindu community. They are not to draw water from the public wells of the village. They are not to enjoy the benefits of the public rest-houses. They may die of thirst but they cannot touch the tank or pond of the village. Even for service of the lowest kind, they are not to enter the Hindu household. Their very touch is a sin to be avoided at all costs and to be expiated by washing your body and the

clothes covering it. They are, therefore, practically forbidden from many of the usual modes even of menial service. Their chief duty is with the dead beasts of the villages—to bear the carcasses of animals out of the village, feed themselves on the rotten flesh of dead animals and at the best, work in their primitive ways on the skins of those animals. I do not forget that some or most of them in the Deccan have to perform village service in return for paltry pieces of lands given to them from times immemorial. I know in many cases the land which a family thus holds is not enough to give it a living for a week in the year. But to save half-an-anna postage, the village officer drags them in pairs to run to the Taluka Town, which may be thirty or forty miles away, wihout being given a farthing for that labour. If the Policeman or the Revenue Clerk visits the village, the wretch must collect fuel from the jungles for the use of the visitor, must groom his horse, must sit up in the biting cold of the night to watch the camp of the officer and, in the heat of the sun, to be at his beck and call for anything or everything. And he must run like a dog after his horse to the next village to which the officer may choose to go. All this in return for a piece of land which yields him, after he labours in it as well as he can, hardly a week's food.

Why then, one may ask, does he not leave this beastly life and select a better one for himself? Does not British Rule at any rate allow him to do this? In theory, it does. But in the hard experience of actualities, it does not. The 'let go' policy followed with mechanical if not cruel precision and rigour by the British Government, stands out in all its stark though unconscious nakedness in its bearings on the conditions of the Depressed Classes. You can let go a horse to run the race or a man to survive as well as he can in the struggle for existence—to survive if he is fit to do so—provided the horse or the man has been trained up for the fight. But does an Englishman ever ask his baby to go forth into

the world, earn its milk and clothing and survive if it can or die if it will ? He does not. But the Government and Hindu Society tell the Depressed Indian to do no better. Then ignored or did not mind that these classes should be bound hand and foot by training, traditions, superstitions, social customs and economic conditions—every one of them an almost irresistible force by itself—to a life which made it impossible for them to lift their fingers in the struggle for existence. I recognise fully that British Rule has bettered their lot a great deal over what they were put to in times prior to its introduction in India. I also recognise that in individual cases some Englishmen have helped on the cause of the Depressed Classes far better than others had done before. I further recognise that the Government alone could not have done all that was needed and the removal of inveterate prejudices among the Hindus themselves was a task which should have been and must now be taken up by the Hindus themselves. I do not wish in any way to minimise the gravity of the sins which we of the Hindu community have been committing in our dealings with this section of our own fellowmen. But judged by itself and on the test usually applied to a civilized Government, I fail to see what British rule has hitherto been if not a failure in its policy towards the lower strata of Hindu society, the lower-most of which is the Untouchable community we are just now concerned with. The Schools which the Government has opened for our villages in many cases do not admit Depressed Classes boys to their classes on anything like reasonable terms. The boy must sit in the sun outside the class room, peeping if he can into the sacred precincts of the class through the narrow, barred windows of the house. The teacher appointed by the Government is the self-same high caste Hindu who looks upon the pupil as one whom Providence has condemned to ignorance and whose desire to learn was itself a sin. Could not the Government have given the unhappy boys of these

Classes schools where they could meet with sympathy and sincerity—from teachers of their own class? Could not the Government have opened to them the doors of an economically better life? Could it not give them technical education even of a simple nature so as to enable them to find more profitable employment? Could it not have freed them from the trammels of the most exacting and the most wretchedly paid service of the village? Could it not restrict that service to a definite few of their class who could earn a living from the emoluments allowed by the State and assigned to that service? Could it not define the service he is to do and mitigate its rigours? It may be said and readily admitted that there are difficulties in the doing of all these things. But the point is that they should have been faced and the lot of the Depressed Classes should have been improvd as far as it lay within the sphere of a civilized Government and that a great deal more could have been done than has been done.

This does not in any way mean that the British Rule in India, for the first time during many centuries, had not paved the way for the emancipation of the Depressed as of the Backward Classes. A criticism like the above assumes that British Rule was the great pioneer of the movement which is now gathering strength in the interests of these classes and full credit must be accorded to it and to the cultural forces it has created in India through the Missionaries who accompanied it and the education in western literature which it gave to India. His Highness was perfectly right when he told the Nasik Untouchables in April 1920 "that the most important condition on which your social uplift depends is the stability of British Raj in India. The British nation is the source of those elevating principles of equality, liberty and fraternity for which you have been carrying on your struggle against your own countrymen. Familiarity has made us unconscious of the importance of the British power in India but the war has set us in right mood and we have

now come to know what a vital condition the British people are in our well-being." I have said before that thе Non-Brahmin caste generally look upon the British connection as a foundation for their National self-assertion and *ipso facto* the Depressed Classes can never ignore this fact though consistently with this they might rightly claim much more from that connection than the blessings which they have already secured. The following account of what His Highness could do in this respect will indicate what active sympathy on the part of the Government can do for them.

For many years prior to the last period of His Highness' rule he had been taking a keen interest in the Depressed Classes. Besides helping on the Miss Clarke Hostel, his attempt was to raise them as far as was possible from their abject position in society by employing them and fitting them for hitherto-to-them-closed avenues of life. For lack of educated men among them, he had to content himself with their use in his household service. He began by making them his coachmen. They were thus placed on the coach-boxes of State carriages on all occasions even during his daughter's marriage, so that they were publicly treated as touchables. The elephant is a royal animal in India and it is considered a privilege to serve as an elephant-driver, His Highness employed some of them in this popularly exalted position. The right to have swords in their belts on public ceremonial occasions was a badge of Kshatriyaship which was denied to them by popular belief. His Highness gave some of them these swords of honour and allowed them to appear in State functions like the soldiers and Sardars of the warrior class. This process of habituating the people to the elevation of the Untouchables to new and honoured position went on for some years. The year 1916 was the turning point in His Highness' life in many respects, not the least important of which was the determination he seems now to have formed to go forward more boldly than before. As he himself admitted in one

of his speeches, he was at first an orthodox man. But the varied experiences through which he had now passed and which gave him an opportunity to try the orthodox methods of reform had convinced him that those methods could not carry him sufficiently forward. His aim was throughout the same. It was the amelioration of all classes from the domination of the caste system. His method uptil now was to educate them, employ them in public service and look up to the Brahmins—the traditionally recognised propounders of religion—to change their angle of vision and yield to these classes their social rights. That policy had been exhausted in all its potentialities. But the Brahmin always stood adamant and his final decision was that he could not accommodate himself to the aspirations of the non-Brahmin. He would not yield an inch of his own ground. "The rock shall move as soon as I" was his everlasting motto. The result of this experience was henceforth visible in various departments of the Maharaja's life. His Highness was now slowly but steadily abandoning his old position. He was carefully studying the Non-Brahminical attempts of communities like the Jains and the Lingayats to find out if they could help him with a solution. He knew that these systems were founded on a negation of the caste idea and a denial of the priestly supremacy. But he soon learnt that they had abandoned more or less the purity of their original principles and had degenerated by lapsing partially into the old errors of Hinduism. He was observing carefully what the Satya Shodhaks were capable of achieving in this direction. Against them his complaint which, I think, was justified was that they had nothing to substitute for the social or socio-religious fabric which they were rightly trying to pull down. Though the Samaj had its *raison d'etre*, it failed to satisfy the needs of society a completely as a new creed ought to. The Prarthana Samaj also received his full attention. Since 1911 or even a little earlier, Kolhapur had its Brahmos and His

Highness had extended his catholic patronage to them to enable them to invite their great preacher from Poona and Bombay. Brought into contact with them in this way, he felt that they were too iconoclastic and too ignorant of human sentiments to be an acceptable system of social life. Brahmoism was the religion of the few, thought he, but that was not what he wanted. In 1915, he came in contact with Theosophists whom also he encouraged a great deal. Mr. Topkhane was now the recipient of very frequent patronage and his Vidyapeeth came into being by the side of his Old Palace. Mrs. Besant and her followers were invited to Kolhapur in 1915 and the Theosophical Society had thus had their day. But that too failed to satisfy his needs. The last stage of his inquiry, carried on throughout in the right Akbarian spirit, was the Arya Samaj which was based on the solid rock of the Vedas, recognised the inherent aptitudes of men for variety of occupations and yet allowed every one to attain un-hampered by artificial restrictions the greatness which nature or acquisitions may have qualified him for. Apart from the peculiar religious dogmatism of the Arya Samaj illustrated in its obstinate attack on image-worship, which I believe His Highness never much cared for, that Samaj offered to him the right solution of the social problem with which alone he was vitally concerned. As I have once before observed and as he himself said often, he let his natural inclinations in matters of faith have full play, without going deep into their merits or otherwise. Perhaps he never reached definite conclusions in those matters of pure faith. That is to my mind the only possible explanation of his apparently paradoxical religious observances. Foremost in rebelling against certain superstitions and boldest among the bold in attacking them, he was often seen to be scrupulously careful in some other observances of a superstitious character. Though he was announcing to the world his adhesion to the Arya Samaj, he never gave up image-worship.

Numerous other instances may be quoted which baffled the observer and led to the superficial view that he was inconsistent and self-contradictory. I do not accept this view. He was a hard practical man, very little affected by sentiments of any kind. He was essentially a rationalist but even rationalism was to him not a creed. Everything, even religion itself, was to his mind an instrument. The main principle of his life was the practical interests which he set about to achieve with all the energy and all the resources which he could command. The overthrow of the supremacy of the Brahmins was the first goal of his life. This was in itself and in its origin the offspring of his desire to free himself from their political domination. In its turn, it necessitated the elevation of the backward classes. That could not be done, he had *now* found, without striking at the root of the social system evolved with such minute care and attention by the subtle intellect of the Brahmin. The task of unravelling the intricate cobwebs of the deepseated influence of the Brahmin priesthood in the Maharashtra was thus the goal of his life. Sentiment, faith, superstitions, even the Brahmin himself, were the instruments which he had to and which he was ready to use for the accomplishment of his purpose. The elevation of the Non-Brahmins became a paramount necessity with the dawn of the new era in the Indian political world heralded by the great announcement of the British Cabinet on August 20, 1917. The resuscitation of the Brahminical intelligentsia's waning influence would, he rightly feared, be the immediate result of their new policy—it was new in spite of all that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report tried to prove to the contrary—and therefore the new policy gave a new impetus to this one ambition of his life. The Arya Samaj on the religious side, the compulsory education scheme on the education side, the great legislation which he undertook as we shall soon see on the political side, the Kshatriya Jagadguru and the Vedic School Movement, the Non-Brahmin Movement and the

Depressed Classes Movement with which this chapter deals were one and all the apparently diverse but essentially one-purposed aspect of the volcanic efforts which he was impelled to make for the realisation of this one ambition of his whole life. These considerations alone will explain aright much of what I have described hitherto and, still more, much of what I have to detail in the sequel.

The connection between the Montagu announcement of August 20, 1917, and the opening of the new chapter in the Maharaja's life will be best brought out by a reference to the presidential address which he delivered at the Maratha Education Conference at Khamgaon on December 27, 1917. That was the opening speech of the new campaign which he carried on till the last day of his life. At the time he was invited to preside at this Conference, he was busily engaged in placing the case of the Princes before Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, who were then touring in this country investigating public opinion relating to the questions arising out of that momentous announcement of the Cabinet. "I come here not as a Maharaja," he told the Conference "but as a common Maratha . . . You may call me a soldier or a peasant or anything you please." On another occasion, he spoke of himself in a similar strain :—

"I feel proud to call myself a soldier, farmer or labourer. My forefathers were farmers before they became kings. My mother, who belonged to the Ghorpade family of Mudhol and my adoptive mother who belonged to the Shirke family, and my adoptive father, who belonged to the Bhosale family, all of them came from farmer class. Many think and I too was advised not to mix with the lower and ignorant classes. But this advice fell flat upon my ears, as my love towards the labourers in whose family I was born, is also born with me. For the blood of a soldier and farmer is flowing through my veins. I like to mix with you."

He was asked by many what business he had to bother himself with the problems of constitutional and other reforms in British India. He would not, even when circumstances were adverse to him, allow the objection to prevail and his reason for doing so may be summed up in this conception of his in respect of his relations to the whole of India and to Maharashtra in particular. The States and the British Territory formed one compact whole and none of the two can fail to act and react upon the other in every sphere of life.

" Being a ruler of a Native State," he said at Nasik in 1920. " I am often reproached for speaking in British territories. My first submission is that I am not here as a ruler of a State, but I am here as a friend and servant of the millions of my countrymen whose conditions will excite pity in any one who claims a human heart. In that capacity if my countrymen approach me to solicit my views on any subject, I think it would be a serious breach of the rules of decorum to be silent or to withhold them. Secondly, the Native States are inalienably interwoven with the British Territory. As subjects or as treaty-holders, we are bound to the British Empire and as such there are many interests that are common to us all. I am, therefore, of opinion that by interesting myself in problems affecting the interests of us all, I am not sinning. In fact I regard it my duty to be so interested."

That is why he was moved to interest himself in questions arising out of the Announcement.

" At present," he said, " the great cry is about Home Rule. The question is whether we are fit for it. We do really wish to have Home Rule. It will give us what we may say, 'life-blood,' but I may state it," he added, " as my reasoned opinion that a time will come when we may have to break through the shackles of our present day caste system. I look forward to this result in the interest of our general moral and material progress. So long as we have caste feelings among ourselves, it will lead to the weakening of our cause. You will,

I am sure, easily perceive that to do away with our internal dissensions and fit us for Home Rule, it is necessary that we must try our best to get rid of the evil of the caste system . . I have arrived at the conclusion of the necessity of breaking the caste system from what has taken place in other parts of the world, for instance, in Japan. To bring about this necessary change should be our goal. . . . For the present all that we have to do to attain our goal is to educate our people and thus prepare their minds. This is the only way to approach this important and momentous question."

The need of an anti-caste movement becomes more and more manifest in his utterances as we proceed. In the same address he observed :—

"If castes remain as they are, Home Rule in the sense in which it is meant will result in nothing but a kind of oligarchy. This of course does not mean, I may tell once more, that I am against Home Rule. Surely we want it. Under the present circumstances, however, we must have the protection and guidance of the British Government until the evil of caste-system become ineffective. To prevent Home Rule from culminating into oligarchy, we must have communal representation at least for ten years. It will teach us what our rights are. Once we know them, communal representation can be dispensed with."

This remedy would only be temporary and could not be depended on for ever. A year afterwards, on 24th November 1918, he says in a Bombay meeting of Non-Brahmins :—

"Properly speaking, it is the duty of the educated and responsible class to set, by mixing with all, an example of unity and love; but they do not do so at present. It is the Arya Samaj which has taken up this work. I am a follower of the brave Sir Pratab Singh Maharaja. I have also read books containing its principles. It is not that Dayanand Saraswati invented the principles of Arya Samaj. It is the ancient principle of the Vedas themselves that Swami Dayanand,

Nityanand and my friend Pandit Atmaram and Swami Paramanand and others have been expounding. These sage-like men are attempting to remove such of the principles as are interpolated in religious books by preachers and priests who formed a separate caste for themselves. We cannot adequately thank them for this. I should like to tell you how I became an Arya Samajist. While I was sailing for London in the same steamer with Maharaja Pratab Singh, the most powerful and an ornament of the Kshatriya race, who has been fighting in France from the beginning of the War, he taught me these principles. Many years after, Pandit Atmaram met me. It is from that time that I became an Arya Samajist."

The dominant impulse now received by his interest in the depressed classes was no less derived from the same source. "Is it not shameful," he asked in 1920, " that in ordinary life we should observe untouchability and deny you the benefits of full and complete social intercourse ? It is only when the higher castes in our Hindu society repent of this social crime that there will grow in them the true spirit of patriotism."

At the first Untouchables' Conference at Mangaon, he was even more emphatic. He said :—

" Some say what connection is there between politics and untouchability ; and if there is any they try to promise to remove it. But I ask how will politics fare well, unless the untouchables be treated like human beings ? Those who take part in politics must treat men as men, that is, as they are treated in other countries. The country will not be otherwise well served. He will be said to have served his country who does so, and none else."

The first question about the depressed classes was thrust upon his attention by the quarrels which the Mahars—the most numerous of the depressed classes in the Deccan—have had with the ryots of the villages. Under the old village organisation of the Deccan, everything that the village required in its simpler life of the primitive times was arranged

for on a hereditary caste basis. The Patil was the headman and chief officer in the village. The Kulkarni was his minister-in-chief. The Chaugule and the Magdum were the assistants of these hereditary officers. The Sanadis were the army and the Police. The various artizan classes, the Sutars and Lohars and Kumbhars, etc., were the hereditary artizans of the village. The Mahar were the hereditary Police and servants of the village. Agriculture was no doubt the chief occupation of all. But the ryot was himself the hereditary tiller of the soil. The weaver who supplied cloth was also hereditary. We must not forget the Joshi who was the hereditary priest of the village. All these functionaries had rent-free or Watan lands assigned to them. But when the lands thus alienated to any class were too small to provide a living, the Balute contributions were levied upon the whole village, excepting only the watandars themselves, whereby the ryots had to pay in kind to all the watandar servants of the village, the priest, the smith, the Mahar, the boatman, etc., etc. The payments in kind were never placed on a definite footing and varied from time to time and man to man. Various changes in ideas as well as in requirements made the ryots discontented with this ancient system of service and remuneration. But the worst of the effects of this system was on the Mahars. His Highness declared that the payment of Balute to all watandars including the Joshis was unnecessary and that if any service was required from them, the State would remunerate them in cash. The Mahar, however, was excluded from this order of 22nd February 1918 presumably because His Highness hoped to protect this helpless class. On June 25 of the same year, this order was amplified by an express declaration to the effect that the ryots had no right to impose their services on them and that the rent-free lands they held may be treated as rayatawa or assessed lands. On March 3, 1919, a further step was taken by promulgating a fine up to Rs. 100 or imprisonment up to four

days as a punishment upon those who were attempting to outcast people who employed men other than the now-defunct Balutedars. The final step was taken on the 28th of the same month by an order declaring that the ryots need not pay the Mahars any Baluta as the latter were thenceforth free from liability to compulsory service. The system of daily roll-call or Hajeri of all men of what were called the criminal classes was also put an end to on 31st August 1918 except in the case of convicted persons only, who could free themselves from the duly roll-call by proving five years' good conduct after the expiry of their term of imprisonment.

On March 21 and 22, 1920, the enthusiastic Patil of the village of Mangon in the Kagal Jahagir of the Kolhapur State organised the first Conference of the Deccan Untouchables under the presidentship of Mr. Ambedkar, the first Graduate of the Mahar Community. On the second day of the Conference, His Highness attended and explained his own policy in this connection in these words:—

"I should like to take this opportunity to say why I freed the so-called untouchables from Hajeri. This practice of Hajeri gave scope to village officers and others to oppress these poor people ; for example officers threatened and forced them to work gratis even when the rate of wages was twelve annas per day. At the most, they should give them at least bare subsistence and nothing more.

This is the heinous form of slavery that we have imposed in this twentieth century. This practice of Hajeri sometimes prevented them from seeing their sick relations with the consequence that several died without their being seen by their relatives. I have myself seen examples of parents being taken away to do forced labour in time and out of time, and thus becoming unable to attend their sick children whom they found dead on their return home. What tyranny could be more tyrannical than this ? There are, likewise, no few occasions when Balutedars are made to work for the higher

class people and refused wages. In case anybody complains he is threatened to be included in the Hajeri list."

Referring to the forced labour to which the Mahars were too often subjected and of which he heard complaints in that Conference, His Highness explained his policy :—

" But I could not do away with the practice of Wetha (forced labour) ; for these people are hankering after Watan, which consists of nothing more than a bit of land, or a basket-full of corn which in addition to its being itself insufficient for maintenance tempts them to confine themselves to their village with the result that they have no other alternative then to steal for their belly. I therefore request all Balutedars and Watandars, such as Mahars, not to stick up to their small Watans and Balute. I specially request the Mahars to divide the whole land into pieces of ten acres each and give them over to the eldest member in the family, like Patils and Sanadi Shiledars. In short, appoint Mahars in each village like the Shiledars or Sanadi Shiledars and then alone you will be free from slavery. I shall be glad to give them new Sanads. Other Mahars will be at liberty to go out of the village and pursue some other occupation so that all of them would be saved from half-starvation. The Mahars of Karveer have accepted my view and am sure that others will follow their example. I also hope my dear friend Mr. Ambedkar will help me in this respect."

But this proposal was framed on the assumption that the junior Mahar families in the village would be willing to surrender their little strips of land to their senior family, an assumption which could not of course be correct. One of the numerous applications which His Highness received from the Mahars explained this difficulty and suggested a more feasible remady :—

" The Hindu Society is very fond of Watans. But there is nothing either in our watans or our watan service of which we should be proud. But like insects living on dirt we are

loving even this kind of watan. With a view to free us from this mean service, Your Highness decided that one Mahar should serve for each ten acres of watan lands and the rest of us should be removed from the service. But this order does not achieve its object. For this means that all the other Mahars will lose their lands and become discontented. And those lands being distributed among only a few, those few will still be liable to bear the yoke of this watan service. As long as this burden of watan service hangs round our necks there is no hope of improvement in our condition. So we pray that the watan service should be altogether stopped . . . . The lands should be continued with those who are now holding them. The possession of them should not be transferred. But they should henceforth be transferred to the rayatawa class and all Mahars should be liberated from the burden of forced labour."

On July 15th, 1921, action was accordingly taken in the case of all Mahars who agreed to this arrangement and strict orders prohibiting any service being exacted from them were issued.

The removal of untouchability was the next and the greatest social problem. Various administrative measures were adopted with the object of removing the bar. The first step was to appoint men of the untouchable classes as Talatis, the new stipendiary village ministers who were hitherto members of the heaven-born Brahmin community. In these positions, numerous though not high, they became important officers who came in daily contact with the villagers and became infinitely better in social position than they ever before were. Their standing now in the shoes of the great Brahmin watandars and tyrants of the villages raised them and their fellow castemen more in the estimation of their co-villagers than anything else could have done. The men who always stood outside the village Chavadi were at once lifted up to the side of the headman holding charge of the Revenue

Daftar. The change was as sudden as it was dramatic. Preference was given to fit men of the Depressed Classes over everybody else. They were allowed thence to be promoted according to merits to every department of the State. Some of them were appointed clerks in offices in February 1919. The Medical Institutions in the State were ordered to treat the Depressed Class patients on terms of perfect equality with others. Any officer, dresser or nurse who objected to this was asked to resign his or her post. On January 15th, 1919, the Educational Department was directed to treat these classes on a similar footing of perfect equality with others. But owing probably to the obstructive tactics of the Huzur Office, that order came to be missing and was never forwarded to its proper destination. A new order was issued directing all schools, private but aided, and public, to treat untouchable pupils just like the touchables on pain of severe punishment or withdrawal of grants to aided schools. The Heads of all Departments were likewise directed to treat untouchable clerks or people calling at the State offices without any distinction of untouchability. His Highness extended to them special representation in the Kolhapur Municipality which was now reconstituted on a communal basis; and a young man of the Chamar (Shoe-makers) caste soon became the Chairman of the Board. Among the other measures adopted, may be mentioned as of chief importance (1) the abolition of untouchability on water-pipes, tanks, wells, in Dharmashalas, Hospitals, Schools and other public places; (2) Free Boarding Houses for them at Sonthali and the Station Bungalow; (3) abolition of separate schools for the untouchables. The enrolment of several persons of these down trodden communities as Pleaders in the State comes last though not the least important of the changes introduced by His Highness. Many people criticised him for this. His answer was given to the All-India Depressed Classes Conference over which he presided at Nagpur (Central Provinces) on May 30th, 1920. He said: -

" In some States men with inferior education and cleverness than the Mahars and Mangs in my State are granted Sanads. For this no one thinks that the society is degraded. Because a man has got a Sanad, no one is forced to go to him as a client. You are free to go to any pleader. My intention in giving them Sanads is that those professions which are closed to the untouchables through custom and law should be opened to them and thus, having improved their condition, they should think that they are as good as other men. I am a sportsman. My experience of the horses is that unless water is shown to the horse, it would not drink it. In the same way if these people are given a chance to plead, they will pick it up. Otherwise they would never dream of becoming pleaders. Matang, Tunk, Parashar, Vasishta, Chokhamela, and others, though born in low families became great through ability. From this no one would say that this community is lacking in able men. In England also a few years back a man was made a Barrister not for his legal education, but for his dining for a number of days in the Inns of Court. Indians who were not even Matriculates could come back from England as Barristers. They had no need of legal or any other kind of education. But these table-barristers could plead in any Courts. Some of them were eminent lawyers.

" Now some great men think that the higher classes think themselves insulted when I grant the Sanads to low caste men like Mahars and Mangs. But it is a mistake on their part. I am quite convinced that the service of the nation lies not in telling these communities to wait for twenty-four years in doubt and anxiety till they are thoroughly educated and see if they can get equal rights, but in at once freeing them by cutting the oppressive, frightful chains that surround them. This is the only way to reach our goal. Those who curse the time but do nothing may tread their own paths. Many men now admit that caste-system must go away and it is quite true. But the question is where to bring it

from? It is natural that those who are considered low should say that it must be removed; but however much they might work in that direction, it would have no effect. This work must be undertaken by the higher classes. The higher classes must be prepared to renounce the hereditary rights enjoyed since ancient days. They must set an example by this holy sacrifice."

But more than all this preaching, the personal example of His Highness was a powerful weapon which he most effectively used. He, the scion of the revered Chhatrapati House, moved about throughout the length and breadth of the Maharashtra openly, professedly and boldly eating and drinking at the hands of the untouchables who were always close by his side and not a soul, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, dared to mutter a word of disapprobation or protest. Therein lay the great success of his anti-untouchability work. Standing in the Mangaon Conference, he invited Mr. Ambedkar to dine with him. He did so very often. He freely seated the untouchables at his table. Standing in the open Conference of the Depressed India at Nagpur, surrounded by Brahmins and Marathas, he called for tea and took it from the hands of the untouchables. The day after he laid the foundation of the Maratha Hostel at Nasik, he also laid the foundations of a Hostel for the Depressed Classes there, and, in the course of the meeting, he took tea from the hands of the untouchables and in the full gaze of the public assembled there. He did this and similar acts on purpose. In the course of a hunting expedition, he happened to go to Tasgaon (Satara District) at midday. The first place he went to was the segregated quarters of the Mahars. Seeing his motor car and hearing that the great Chhatrapati was in it, the townsfolk assembled round his car in their hundreds. Ignoring all the rest, he called out for water from one of the Mahars and drank it to his fill in the eyes of all the crowd. Slowly proceeding into the town followed by an amazed assemblage including hundreds of

Mahars, up he went to the Palace of the late veteran enemy of his family, the residence of the Peshwa's Brahmin-General Parasharambhu Patwardhan. The astonished descendant of that warrior, overcome by the generous condescension of the 'Anti-Brahmin' Chhatrapati, requested him to honour the interior of his residence with his visit. Only too willing to do this, His Highness went into all parts of the Wada with the whole paraphernalia of his admiring untouchable followers and at one stroke, purified both the Brahmin and the Paria. The example which he thus set wherever he went spread like fire and in his presence untouchability vanished like clouds before the blazing sun.

No wonder that these fallen classes looked upon him as a demigod. Accustomed only to contemptuous treatment from the great and the small in the land, in him they saw the great redeemer such as they had never dreamt of, a man of unquestionable influence and social position, a veritable dynamic force in Hindu Society, connection with whom was a coveted honour for Maratha royalty, a man burning with love for them and their cause. When the Prince of Wales visited Delhi, the active non-co-operators and the passive multitudes of the Imperial City shut themselves in their homes in one of those interminable though generally innocuous hartals. The Chhatrapati, however, sounded his trumpet call and the untouchables of Hindustan responded in their thousands on one of the historic maidans of the ancient Metropolis to greet the Prince. This was but the natural effect of his magnetic personal influence among these classes, an influence which he owed entirely to his bold advocacy of their cause. When Mr. Ambedkar proposed to him the idea of an All-India tour to collect funds for a Depressed Classes Institute His Highness wrote back to him on June 7th, 1920, saying that he was not only ready to be the President of the Institute, but even his Assistant Secretary. "I wish very much to be an Assistant Secretary," he wrote, "of such a move-

ment and I shall do the work very joyfully." When he closed the Depressed India Conference at Nagpur in May 1920, he said :—

"Because I have become your President, because I take your side, a certain community always belittles my attempts and condemns me and tries to rouse public opinion against me. But this emboldens and encourages me and I praise the papers which vilify me. I quietly put up with the troubles and the insults of these people. But I am always ready to respond to your call. You should not hesitate to demand my services. My friends and my humble self have sworn to serve you. By your blessings my son is now able to look after the administration. I am prepared to hand over the State to my son if by chance any Oligarchy brings pressure upon me. I hope you will accept my services."

Why did His Highness speak in these almost desperate tones ? The Brahmin Press was louder than ever before in denouncing him. At Nagpur itself his own relative of the ex-ruling family of Bhosles was induced to leave the place to avoid receiving such a critic of their class. He had thus to put up in a house belonging to a Christian gentleman. Though the Raje Bhosle was absent his mother had the courage to invite His Highness and apologise for her son's absence. "I am only glad," replied he, "that your son will be free from the troubles I am suffering at the hands of the Brahmins for trying to uplift the Depressed Classes."

Of all the movements which required these services badly, this was the one which stood in the greatest need of them and suffered the heaviest blow by his death within a few short months after this hope-inspiring announcement from him.

The Kshatra Jagadguru at his installation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Kshatriya Jagadguru or the end of Priestcraft.

The installation of Mr. Kurtkoti in the Kolhapur Brahmin monastery—His ephemeral activities in Kolhapur—Brahmin ascendancy—The disillusionment and the Kulkarni order—The Talati Resolution of H. H.—Justification of—Watan lands turned into rayatawa—Final orders in June 1918—The Maharaja on the Kulkarni system—The Brahmins take up the challenge—Resignation and abdication of Shankaracharya—The experiment that failed—Reasons for creating a Maratha priesthood—The original socio-religious headship—Of Hindu kings—How the Brahmins usurped it—Akbar's Din-ilahi—Shivaji's minister of social affairs—The Shankaracharya at Kolhapur in earlier times—The Kshatra Jagadguru—How essentially different from the Brahmin Jagadguru or Popes—His Highness on Religion—Need of ecclesiastical organisation—Maratha priests ordered to be created on 15th June 1920—The order of 26th June 1920—The appeal to all parties to unite not responded to—The Shivaji Vedic School founded on 6th July 1920—Its objects and work—The attitude of his family towards the reforms.

THE installation of Dr. Kurtkoti as Jagadguru of the Kolhapur Shankaracharya Math on June 10, 1917, was the prelude to the resuscitation of the ancient and significant institution of the Kshatriya Jagadguru or the High Priest of the Warriors. The incidents connected with the short and fitful period of Dr. Kurtkoti's life as the head of the Kolhapur Brahmin Math have very little interest of a permanent character and may, therefore, be dismissed with only a few observations which will throw some light on the new move of His Highness. When Mr. Kurtkoti came to Kolhapur, he was known to be a Sanskrit scholar who had taken some interest in public affairs in British India. It was believed by those who introduced him to the Maharaja that he was a man of liberal views on social questions, a man of moderate and loyal political tendencies and a man who

could be a straight instrument in the social policy of His Highness. His Highness seems to have had about this time and a little before a mind to give the Brahmins one more chance of winning back their position in Hindu Society by yielding to their fellow-men their just rights and abandoning for good to their attempts once again to aggrandise themselves. Professor G. C. Bhanu of Poona was tried as a probable candidate for the Jagadguruship before Mr. Kurtkoti was selected. His Highness went so far as to sanction his appointment as a dignitary in the Math and the public understood this step to be a forerunner of his coming elevation—for the first time in the history of the Chitpawan community—to the Gadi of the Math. But probably because his political antecedents came in his way, he disappeared from the scene within a very short time meteor-like. Mr. Kurtkoti came with much better reputation as a tactful, pliant, useful and reliable politician. Nor was he himself the least assiduous among those who produced this impression. His great business in life was to visit big officials, hobnob with them as much as they allowed him to do and trade as astutely as one could upon these relations with Sir X and Sir Y. Even after receiving the robes of his new office, he continued this congenial pursuit. On one occasion, March 5, 1918, he tells His Highness that he takes care to consult officers before doing anything of importance and advises the public "to keep good relations with the Government." He also professed great affection for the cause of the non-Brahmin communities and promised almost every one of them what they wanted. This profuse sympathy which he promised to all classes of the Hindus inspired His Highness with a hope that, if raised to the headship of the ancient Math, he would utilise his influence wisely and well for the promotion of the cause His Highness was all along advocating. But within a few months of the installation, His Highness found that all that glittered was not gold and that he had committed one of the

few mistakes of his life in the direction of misjudging men and their minds.

The new Swami began his campaign with much show of energy. "The Chhatrapati Sanskrit Vidyalaya" was inaugurated on 29th June at the hands of Colonel Wodehouse. The idea was to train *all* classes of Hindu Society in the religious lore of Brahminism. But the Vidyalaya, like all other activities of Mr. Kurtkoti, died after a short and fruitless career. It was proposed that, as an experimental measure, the village of Uchagao where the Vidyalaya was situated should be entrusted to him for the purposes of introducing compulsory education there. But this experiment failed as it was bound to fail in the fickle hands of the Swami. For a moment, however, the Brahmin influence was thriving rapidly. The Mussalman and Jain High Priests were given special powers over their communities in matters of marriage ceremonies about this time. That I count as an indication of nothing but the success of Brahminism among the castes concerned. The recalcitrant ex-Rajopadhye was again in office, though now only as a paid servant. I have already referred to this and to the Brahmin influence in the official world about this period. Happily, however, for the non-Brahmin cause, the set back came soon and came with redoubled force primarily on account of the new ideas of democracy—which August, 1917 brought to India, and by the refusal of the Brahmins to show the least sign of repentance and improvement. In the meanwhile the Swami was making liberal promises of sympathy and broad-mindedness to the non-Brahmins, who were the only people who cared for him. The Brahmins recognised him only as far as he could be useful to repress the social aspirations of the other so-called lower classes. The hollowness of his professions of sympathy soon became too manifest to deceive the shrewd. The boys of the Miss Clarke Hostel wished in September 1917 to attend a lecture, even if from a safe distance, which was delivered by a Shastri on Vedant in the

Swami's Math. But they were not allowed to step into the extensive outer yards of that large building. Europeans and Christian converts from the untouchable classes could enter the Swami's Darbar Hall, but not these despised disciples of the Swami! When questioned, the great Swami—the master of religion —quite unabashed laid down the proposition that "he had no objection to consent to what society was prepared to imitate from him." Verily the Master was no more than a weakling and a slave of social prejudices! Some of the Maratha leaders of Kolhapur were rallying round him; but they soon discovered that in their case too he was no more useful than he was to the Untouchables. The replacement of Talatis for the Kulkarnis and the abolition of the Joshi's rights over the religious ceremonies of the Hindus brought matters to a head and put Kurtkoti's sincerity to a test which it failed to stand.

His Highness himself had his share in the disillusionment which was coming over Kolhapur. "You may give them (the Brahmins) any good treatment," he says on February 22, 1918, "but one thing against their wish upsets everything. It is a most uncompromisable and ungrateful caste. . . . I have now opened my eyes . . ." In May, he says: "In some Pethas (Talukas) I have tried a mixed administration and I find it works only when the non-Brahmins become Brahmin-ridden." On the 23rd of February, the day after he wrote the letter from which I have cited the above, he ordered that the Talati system should be adopted instead of the prevailing hereditary Kulkarni system. This was necessary as a preliminary, as the order in question expressly stated, to the introduction of the Village Panchayats in the State. "The watandar Kulkarni is an obstacle in the way. The Kulkarni watan may have been necessary in the ignorant condition of society, but that time does not now exist. If the Panchayat is introduced with a watandar Kulkarni in the village all power will pass into the hands of the said Kulkarni

and a few people of his caste, and the interests of the large agricultural population will suffer. The watandar Patil being one of the agriculturists is not likely to endanger the work of the Panchayat." This arrangement rendered the service lands of the Kulkarnis liable to be resumed by the State which did not now require their service. But His Highness was pleased to order that the said lands may continue as heretofore on condition that they become assessed holdings with full and absolute rights of ownership in their holders so that the Kulkarni had the advantage of transforming the tenure into an alienable instead of a non-transferable one. This order was not, however, given effect to till late in June. "The persons affected . . . belong to articulate communities and it is quite possible they may agitate . . . . I have, therefore, for the present kept in abeyance my order." On 25th June, he passed another order confirming the first and declaring that "(1) the hereditary Kulkarni will be relieved of his charge or charges from 29th of July 1918 and his work will be taken from a full-time Talati not connected with the village; (2) the watandar voluntarily relinquishing his rights of officiation before the 22nd of July 1918 will be granted a permanent annual allowance equal to one-sixth of the remuneration of his office so relinquished; (3) those surrendering their rights after the 22nd of July but before the 15th of August 1918 will be awarded similar allowance equal to one-eighth of the remuneration; (4) if the watandar applies before 31st October 1918 to have his watan freed from the burden of alienation rules that prayer will be granted and full rayatawa rights will be given. If the application be submitted after the above date, he will have to pay nazarana not exceeding the assessment of the land; (5) a Bhauband holding land belonging to Kulkarni watan may also apply for the rayatawa rights over his survey number or numbers and he will be granted them with or without nazarana as stated in rule 4."

His Highness explained the circumstances which led to this step being taken in a Note which could hardly be improved upon. In the course of it, he said :—

"The conduct of Kulkarnis was for many years found to be extremely disloyal and in every respect most unsatisfactory. They used every means in their power to influence the poor rayats against me and indeed against the British Government, and by virtue of their influential position as village officers, they had exceptional opportunities of doing so. They read the newspaper *Kesari* to the villagers in the village Chavadi and they did their utmost to support the propaganda put forward by the Extremists in British territory and they instigated scurrilous and bitter attacks against me in the newspapers, *Lok Sangraha, Lokshahi, Rajkaran, Kesari* and other Extremist papers. The funds started in the British territory for the furtherance of seditious ends were, I found, collected from poor ignorant rayats of my villages. This was done solely by the Kulkarnis at the instigation of the Extremist leaders in British territory.

"As was to be expected under the above circumstances these Kulkarnis grossly neglected their legitimate duties and I was so thoroughly dissatisfied with their work that I at last decided to remove them from their posts of village officers and appointed paid Talatis to do the work and that system is now working very satisfactorily.

"They had in their possession Government records, and they had a special knowledge of the rights and titles of private proprietors of lands. They had abused their powers as Kulkarnis and had taken undue advantage of their special knowledge. So many instances of fraud and dishonesty played by Kulkarnis were coming before me that I had to appoint a special Court for trying the cases of their fraud."

In another place he described the evils of the Kulkarni system more pointedly :—

"You know what influence the Kulkarni has in the village and why he is satisfied with the paltry amount of Hakdari he receives as his remuneration. His intrigues bring him a large amount and he has also other illicit ways of making money. He knows that the villagers being ignorant are solely at his mercy.

The challenge thus thrown out at the root of the Brahmin influence—we must remember here that the Joshi or the village priest had also lost his authority about the same time —among the masses of the village population could not but be taken up by their protagonists all over the country. But the wonder of it was that the religious High Priest of the Darbar's choice, Mr. Kurtkoti, was the first in the field to give battle to the Darbar. On July 8, he informed His Highness that the blow given to the Kulkarnis and the Joshis "without whom I cannot do," was one which he, the Jagadguru, could not meekly bear. I am not against the abolition of the system, he said, as I have myself resigned my Kulkarni watan in British India. Was not what was sauce for the goose also sauce for the gander? Arguments or no argument, the Swami was now up in arms against the order. For a time of course he was placating both sides. He would preside over the Kulkarni meetings to protest against, and the non-Brahmins meetings to support, the Talati system. But shrewdly as he thought to himself, he presided over the protest on condition, as he informed the Maharaja, that they should "never go against the Maharaja at any rate!" Against whom were they then to protest? But Mr. Kurtkoti thought that he was leading His Highness into the belief that Kurtkoti was everybody's friend and benefactor. The motive which actuated him was not however long a secret. In sending the Kulkarni protest to His Highness he distinctly described the question as one of the prestige (abru) of the Brahmins as a community. *That* then was the real issue. On July 18, he complains that the Talati classes are open only to Satya

Shodhaks and threatens that he would resign his Inams in case they were appointed to his villages. He had not the sense to understand that the Darbar was not likely to be cowed by such threats. Curses—the usual weapon of the priest—were also mentioned next. Nothing availing, he resigned his Inams on September 15 and a month later, abdicated his Swamihood as much out of rage as for his distressed pecuniary condition and left Kolhapur for good.

This is in brief the story of the experiment that failed. Out of evil cometh good and the sad *fiasco* of this attempt of the Maharaja to pull on in harmony with the Brahmins had a wholesome lesson for him. His Highness had long been thinking of creating a priesthood of his own caste to replace the Brahmin. After a good many oscillations, the pendulum was reaching a stable position. In October, and a little prior to Mr. Kurtkoti's final abdication, His Highness had appointed a Bench consisting of one Brahmin and one Maratha to advise him and dispose of smaller references on religious and social questions. The idea was obviously to reassert the old authority of the Kshatriya King to ordain laws for social conduct in its individual as well as collective capacity and to enforce or apply them to the particular cases as they arose. It was becoming clear to him that the usurpation of that power by the High-priest or the Brahmavirinda was the badge of Kshatriya slavery and the right remedy was to replace the Brahmin altogether by reassuming the authority as the King of his people.

Looking back upon the history of Hindu India, the Chhatrapati was well justified in this attempt. It was in the first place undoubtedly true in the early Vedic times, or, for the matter of that, in all nations which are not in a decadent stage, the priest was but a secondary man and the warrior statesman the first in society. The ancient Kshatriya of India was the Philosopher King of Plato. He it

was who fought the unrighteous enemy fairly and squarely on the field of battle, gave safety and opening for national life to his followers, ordained laws for the maintenance and growth of society, enforced them with all the authority at his command and his laws and edicts embraced all departments of life—religion, family life, individual duties, trade, agriculture and what not. Solon's laws would be comparable in details and comprehensiveness with those of Manu himself. The ideal life was therefore that of the man who by dint of his merits rose to the position from which he could organise his society for attaining the perfection of human existence in every sphere of life. That was why the names of the Kshatriya sages like Janak stand out pre-eminent in the annals of Vedic India, Janak the "originator of the earliest speculations of the Upanishads" as Mr. R. C. Dutt has described him. The best authority for discovering through the mists of the later Brahminical fabrications of history the true position in the youthful days of Aryan India is to go to the literature of those who successfully resisted the Brahmin inroads into the realms of the warrior philosophers. I have already briefly pointed out the conclusions they completely established. One point only may be added here. The Buddhist and the Jain philosophers were all of them Kshatriyas and when a priesthood was created or perhaps recognised as a class by the mythical King Bharat, one of the Jain Kshatriya saints admonished him for the blunder of his life and foretold the heavy price which India was bound to pay for committing that folly. The prophecy proved only too true. The priests who soon arrogated to themselves and corrupted the meaning of the term *Brahmanya*—the condition of one who realises the highest in the Universe, the permanent and self-conscious and self-joyful substratum of all existence—"formed a religion," to use the words of Mr. M. N. Shastri, "with so many dogmas, and so many and so greatly complicated sacrifices" that before long they succeeded in completely depriving the non-

professional Aryans "of all spiritual affairs—all knowledge and learning—nay of all religion."

For centuries the struggle went on and in spite of the Brahmins' ban, the three lower classes produced saints and warriors, who strove hard to stamp out the priestly arrogance and their moral cruelty. The king's right to rule the life of his subjects, though coupled with the injunction that it should be exercised in consultation which became more and more authoritative as credulity and superstition—the basis of priestcraft—grew from bad to worse, was never denied until Mahomedan conquest made it impossible for the kings—for they now professed an alien faith—to be socio-religious legislators. Ashoka and Chandragupta and many a lesser king had been acknowledged guides in every field of human life. The reduction of Hindu Kshatriyas to submission by the Mussalmans reduced their already waning influence in society and the slowly rising tides of Brahmanical influence secured social leadership for the priestly class such as they never before had. The petty rulers of medieval India, weakened by internecine quarrels, gave Shankaracharya the first opportunity to elevate the Brahmin to socio-religious pre-eminence, though it was naturally of a very diluted type as without the sanctions of political power it could be nothing else. It was only when a petty Hindu king—India had nothing else during the Mahomedan period—succumbed to the machinations of the priesthood that the successors of Shankaracharya in the Maths which he founded really sought to enforce their orders on society. Very often, the castes regulated their own affairs with more or less independence—more when they were themselves strong and less when they were weak. Brahmavrindas or the caste Punchayats of the Brahmins were particularly strong in central places like Kolhapur where admittedly the Shankaracharya had no authority at all. The Lingayats in the Deccan created a priesthood of their own and, after a long struggle, succeeded in liberating them-

selves from the High or the ordinary Brahmin priest. It was left to the greatest ruler of India after Ashoka, the hero of the Muslim period, Akbar the Great, to make a supreme effort to go back to the ideals of the Aryan Kshatriyaship. He rose above the caste, the creed and the race and became the warrior statesman of the Platonic or the Vedic type. In his age, the Indian people, with their deep religious sense, as Havell puts it, "willingly assented to the doctrine that 'a most just, a most wise and a most God-fearing king' was fit to be a spiritual leader of his subjects and were eager to be enrolled in the order of Din-Ilahi." After him, the honour of reviving this ideal of kinghood went to the hero of Maharashtra, Shivaji, who as the defender of the Hindu Faith became a self-conscious Chhatrapati or Chakravartin of his realm. His desire to be crowned in the Vedic rites was not the idle pastime of a pomp-loving man. Nor was it the mischievous propensity of a Prince who fell a victim to the foreigners' policy of divide and rule. His Cabinet—the Ashtapradhan Council—included a minister of socio-religious affairs and he exercised the highest powers in all caste questions. He could safely, and with the consent of his people, go so far as to reconvert Hindus from Islam and, under his advice, the faithful Brahmin attendant in captivity at Delhi or Agra freely dined with the Maratha. Sambhaji followed his father on the same path. Even when the Chhatrapatis were reduced to political weakness, the Rastes of Wai, Brahmins by caste, sought the order of the Chhatrapati for the removal of the ban of their excommunication. In their dealings with the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis, even the Peshwas dared not address them otherwise than as the "ornaments of the Kshatriya Race," and in their own territory the Shankaracharyas were no more than Sanyasis living permissively in the gilded pomp of mock royalty. They were sometimes pawns in the game which the Chhatrapati on one side and the Peshwas on the other were playing for social

supremacy. But neither the Brahmins nor the Kshatriyas attached any importance to these Swamis as a source of social power or influence. In 1764, we are told, the Regent-Queen of Kolhapur, Jijabaisaheb, erected a temple in memory of Sambhaji Maharaja of Kolhapur by the side of the Swami's Math and erected a compound wall around. The Swami complained. He fasted for days to intimidate the Ranee into submission. He set afloat a rumour that the Vrindavan on the site in dispute trembled for days as an evil omen against the Ranee. When all this failed, he sought the intervention of the Patwardhans of Miraj—as his successor, the Bhilvadikar did in 1906-07—on the distinct ground that the Ranee intended hatred of the Brahmins and that her "hatred of the Brahmins exceeded even the hatred of the Yavanas." Nothing daunted, the Ranee set aside the Swami's wishes and had her way. A few years later, it was the turn of the Patwardhans themselves to come into collision with the Swami to whose Monastery the people of Kolhapur, invested by the Patwardhans, had repaired with their valuables for protection from the Brahmin rapacity. The Brahmin chieftain straightway plundered the Swami's Math, burnt it down and looked with stoic unconcern upon the Swami killing himself by pulling out his tongue. I refer to these incidents in the history of the Math to show how the grandiose pretensions of the Maths in recent times were absolutely baseless under Maratha as well as Brahmin predominance. Kurtkoti was repeating the old story almost *verbatim* and the Maharaja must have felt that he must do better than his predecessors by systematically reassuming the incidental power of his Chhatrapatiship in the religious and social life of his people.

These convictions deepened during the eventful period of two years which followed the departure of Mr. Kurtkoti from Kolhapur. They were years of the most intense non-Brahmin activity throughout the Deccan and the Maharaja took a leading part in the whole of it. We shall deal with

this part of the work in a subsequent chapter. But I must note here the close bearing which that movement had on the final measure adopted by the Maharaja in 1921 by delegating his Chhatrapati powers in religious and social matters to the Kshatriya Jagadguru of the Patgaon Math. It will be necessary here to show what were his views on the general problems of religion whereon the conception of a non-Brahmin Hindu High Priest or Jagadguru mainly hinged. To a superficial observer, the creation of a Mahratta Monastery or Math on the lines of the degenerate and, in some respects, intrinsically mischievous Maths already existing in Hindu India—Brahmin and non-Brahmin—was a retrograde and wrong step taken by the Maharaja in a moment of weakness and constituted a fatal deviation from the progressive march towards the emancipation of the Hindu world for which the non-Brahmin movement essentially stands. This criticism is not confined wholly to the antagonists of the movement. This is all the more reason why we may study closely and even critically the circumstances and considerations which necessitated and justified this somewhat novel experiment initiated by His Highness.

The priesthood of the Brahminical type is based on the idea of caste superiority. It presupposes the right of the Brahmin caste—and that caste alone—to control the socio-religious life of the Hindu. Another basic idea of the priestly hierarchy is that the function of the priest who became so by birth, consisted of a cumbrous and intricate, even if not mystical, ritualism which lost its efficacy unless performed by the Brahmin priest. The priest—and I include the High Priest or the Jagadguru in that term—was therefore the indispensable intermediary between man and his spiritual welfare in the divine essence. The High Priest was a priest "writ large" and derived his authority from the secret inspiration or Gurumantra which he received from his Guru, who in the last instance and ultimately received it direct from

the Divine Power itself. That was exactly the origin of Papal infallibility, nothing less than which was claimed by the existing Jagadgurus. The priest—and still more the High Priest—was a God-ordained being standing on an infinitely superior plane, far above the gaze and scrutiny of the common run, pretending to be even higher than the Gods themselves—so said the Brahmins—and superior to all even though fallen and immoral. The rules of life prescribed for it were thus different from those which governed others. Despising, as he pretended but as he never really despised, the attractions of human existence, the priest—even the ordinary Brahmin and much more the Jagadguru—looked down upon the world as only fit to be scorned and graciously favoured with commands which humanity had blindly to obey.

These were the underlying principles of priestcraft in its most potent form. The Maharaja's ideas on the subject were based upon his convictions which he compressed in small pamphlets which have not received much publicity probably because he was not himself yet ready to issue them to the public. In one of them he brings together the mythological manipulations of the priesthood whereby they could palm off all their corrupt practices on a believing public. The poet-reformer Kabeer, a Moslem by birth, who transcended all restrictions of traditional faith and became the saint of all India, enumerates the Gods and Sages who one time or other proved adulterous and concludes—

> Whoever (are) incarnates are all addicted to women.
> Those who understand and yet do not gratify themselves
> have greatly erred.

"If the Puranas," says His Highness, "are historical records, as some say they are, the "Gleanings" of Kabeer given above, show the state of morals at the different epochs described in them, but if the Puranas are myths and allegories, as others think they are, then it is still more curious to note a standard of morals which the writers have

thought fit to set before society." The Matsya Puran (Chapter 69) describes the vow which every non-Brahmin lady is enjoined to take by which she is to feed the Brahmin to his content and submit her person to him for enjoyment every Sunday. The sage Dalabhya then tells the non-Brahmin ladies—" O ladies, by always observing this best of vows which destroys sin and is very fruitful, a woman is liked by all Gods and she attains salvation."

The Mahabharat tells another story of one Kshatriya Prince Sudarshana who defies Death himself by advising his wife to allow her person to be freely enjoyed by any Brahmin who chose to do so and by his wife acting up to this precept. Immorality of the worst type was thus inculcated on the ignorant Hindus by means of the subtle stories doled out to them by the priest. Wrong notions about the Divine Nature are the basis of the credence which the popular mind attaches to such degrading teachings. In his " Challenge," His Highness tells us that God does not require worship, faith, and prayers. "He is not all powerful because He is a prisoner bound by his own laws." Mere faith and prayer are futile. A man could be propitiated by praise or through the influence of a middle-man who may be paid. But a God could not be thus won over. " If God is all-pervading and all-present, why should He need a middle-man, or flattery, prayers and faith ? If He is all-knowing and all-embracing, how could you deceive Him ?" Hence His Highness concludes with a poet—who is apparently himself—" Praise man but not God ." " God requires good actions and not praise. The Revealed Books are a mere myth. The Christian belief that a man is absolved from his sins by confessing to a priest is a wrong belief. If God is one, how is it that His revealed word is so diverse and contained in so many inspired books ? Our own Scriptures are full of immoral and obscene stories. Why should we take them as Scriptures ? The authors of books which have interposed go-betweens between men and God ought to be prosecuted for

fraud." Then the pamphlet gives a pathetic description of the woes which non-Brahmin Hindus suffer through the cunning and trickery of the priesthood which makes men believe that a stone-image is a God whose pleasure is held by itself in the palms of its own hands and that even the touch of the devoted non-Brahmin pollutes the God (in the image) and that even the chastity of a non-Brahmin lady is a fit sacrifice before its sinful altar.

"The efficacy of virtuous actions must be believed in. Astrology is a fraud. It is created by selfish priests. Good action is the basis of man's highest greatness. Images are merely the instruments of priestcraft. The caste or even the Varna system is a fraud. It is said that the four Varnas were based on differences of qualities and actions. But has not even a Brahmin, doing the work of his class, also to serve at least the members of his own family? Each individual belongs more or less to all the four classes."

Imbued with these ideas, His Highness could not in any way countenance the theories on which, as I have shown above, the priestly hierarchy of the Brahmins was based. But this did not necessarily mean that no ecclesiastical organisation was necessary for the attainment of social good. Disgusted with the abuses of the Roman Church and disagreeing with the tenets of Catholicism on which that Church based its Brahminical pretensions, Luther and the host of reformers in Europe who laboured to overthrow the Papacy did not desire to destroy all organisation root and branch, but they purified the system by removing its weeds and reformed the Church as it exists in Protestant Europe. That was exactly the ideal of the Maharaja in the creation of the Kshatriya Jagadguru and the Vedic School at Kolhapur. As President of the Satya Shodhak Samaj at Karad on December 31, 1919, one of the later critics of the new Jagadguru had declared that the Samaj does not hold that there should be no religions or religious heads (Dharmagurus). "The only

point of the Samaj is," he continued, "that religion was not confined only to some symbol" like the sacred thread. He pointed out further that what the Samaj or, for the matter of that, any reformer objected to was the agent who promised spiritual welfare in return for some benefit to be conferred upon him and whose intervention was pretended to be unavoidable. "Whoever purposely raises a wall of ignorance between God and the devotee with the hope of securing some profit to himself—it is such Gurus (Priests) that the Samaj ostracizes." "The Jains, the Lingayats, the Parsees and the Mussalmans—all owning their own priesthood—are helpful to the Samaj." A simple reason for this was that their priesthood was shorn of the fangs which made the Brahmins so dangerous. "In this country," went on Mr. Patil of the *Deen Mitra*, "the liberal-minded Shahu Chhatrapati was courageously carrying on the work of creating this new consciousness among many castes." The self-same Chhatrapati was now ready to walk into the footsteps of the world's religious reformers by purifying and not destroying the socio-religious organisation of the priesthood in the Deccan.

On June 15, 1920, His Highness issued to his Khasgi Department the following order :—

"If our Gods are worshipped (for us) by the Brahmins, we ourselves are held to be unfit to touch them. And they decide us to be sometimes Kshatriyas and sometimes Shudras. So (henceforth) all worship and the sixteen rites in the (old) Palace, New Palace and the Chhatris (ancestral memorial temples) are to be performed at the hands of the Marathas. Rao Bahadur Dongre should train up Maratha boys accordingly, appoint them in the temples of the Palaces and should help them in all ways, and Meherban Babasaheb Khanvilkar should assist Mr. Dongre."

The important point in this was that the Maharaja had as yet no mind to go in for a Swami. The apex could fitly come after the pyramid was ready. Every one seems to have been

struck with a feeling bordering on astonishment at the adventurous nature of the scheme and the persons concerned were slow to move. On the 26th of the same month, another order was issued. It ran thus :—

"The order of 15-6-20 has not yet been carried out. It is extremely necessary that it should be ; for the race of Chhatrapati Shivaji is derived from Rama and Krishna and is that of the Maratha Kshatriyas. The Brahmins, however, are sprung from Shudras. . . Our ancestors are occupying their family temples and as the worship (of Gods) was allowed to be performed by (these) lower people, the descendants of Shiva Chhatrapati have become extinct at Tanjore, Satara, Nagpur, etc., and in the Kolhapur State, many adoptions had to take place. Therefore the worship of Gods through Brahmins should be stopped and the family Gods should be propitiated by worship at the hands of the Marathas. The former order is not yet carried out. Hence Meherban Babasaheb Khanvilkar, Rao Bahadur Dongre, Jadhavrao, Balasaheb Gaikwad, etc., should all join together to enforce the order expeditiously."

When this was published, it need hardly be said that a volley of criticism was directed against His Highness. For one thing, it claimed in unequivocal terms superiority to the Kshatriyas as against the Brahmins and, secondly, the two sections of the non-Brahmins who were weakening the cause by internal dissensions were asked to unite for firm and immediate action. The appeal did not meet with the necessary response from all sides. But Babasaheb Khanvilkar took up the work with the same singleness of purpose and applied himself to it with the same indomitable persistence in the pursuit of what he once determined to follow as was his wont. The difficulties however were great. An objection was at once raised in influential quarters to the wording of the order which described the Brahmins as low-born. His Highness' answer was pointed and effective. He wrote to a friend on July 17 :—

"Whatever assertions I have made about the Brahmins in my order have their foundations in scriptures which were written by Brahmins themselves and so they are bound by it while if there is anything against us in those scriptures, that cannot be binding upon us, as they were not written by any non-Brahmin.

"The order was passed by me on the 26th June 1920 at about 3 p.m. on the Station Bungalow and was sent to my Khasgi Office that same day. And it appeared verbatim in *Loksangrah* very shortly. In the first place the order is private one, addressed to my Khasgi Karbhari and concerns only the worship of my private family Gods. It is not a gazetted State Order. From this you will be able to see how their influence is working in my own camps and how there are traitors even in my own offices.

"Unfortunately I happened to be reading the usual vilifying *Loksangrah* and *Rajkaran* at the time I made that order and I could not resist the temptation of passing the pinching order.

"There used to be only one Jagadguru formerly. But in order to keep him out from the influence of the Mahratta Princes and Chiefs, some of the Brahmins established another Jagadguru and at the time wrote and uttered many vile things about us which had no foundation even in scriptures written by the members of their community. This is admitted even by many fair minded Brahmins and they are satisfied and that is why there are ten to forty papers on my side. Sometimes things they said at the time were very cutting. I remember when my mother Anandibai Ranisaheb Maharaj died, the Brahmins said on the river "who should perform the obsequies of this lady who is a Shudra." How harassing, how cutting, how insulting, how mortifying must it have been to me then? But I gulped it down."

His Highness need not have gone so far back to ferret out instances in which he and his family had been vilified much

more harshly than the reference in the order was supposed to be. He, his family and the whole Non-Brahmin world were always the despised Shudras. But it was sacrilege to say so even once of the divine Brahmin. His Highness was not going to be frightened by attacks in the Press which were growing more and more bitter every day. The Shivaji Kshatriya Vedic School was inaugurated on July 6, 1920, under the supervision and control of Meherban Khanvilkar. Starting on the first day with 14 pupils, it reached 62 at the end of the first year. The curriculum included the Vedic Mantras, music, musical expositions of religion and education in the vernaculars. The boys were soon trained to take up the priestly duty in the family temples of the Palace and they discharged it better than the Brahmins themselves. The experiment was so popular among the Mahrattas that within the very first year of its existence the school had to its credit more than five hundred marriages at which the alumni of the Mahratta Vedic School officiated as the Mahratta Vedic Priests. The indifference of the other gentlemen named led to the concentration of the affairs of the school into the hands of Babasaheb alone and they could not have been looked after with greater earnestness and enthusiasm than by him. The object of the school was, in the words of its first report, "to root out the superstitions which have been mixed up with the Vedic religion and the Puranas and to restore the purity of the original Vedic system. So also the pupils who will be educated in this school will not try to establish their predominence like the Brahmins and will serve the public by spreading education among the ignorant and popularising truly religious life." The pupils of the first year included a fisherman and out of the 62 boys on the roll, 30 belonged to the capital of the State from which another 27 came; Poona, Nasik and Khandesh sent one each, and the Phaltan State sent two.

With the foundations thus laid, His Highness was in search of a qualified Mahratta of an unimpeachably pure

The Pupils of the Shiwaji Vedic School with the K. Jagadguru and Babasaheb Khanwilkar at the centre.

descent to be his own delegate and High Priest for the Kshatriya order. The choice was made about the same time as the school was started and Mr. Sadashivrao Patil of Benadi, a high class Mahratta under-graduate reading in the Fergusson College, was selected to occupy the headship of the Patgaon Math and became the High Priest of the Kshatriyas in Maharashtra. This Math was founded by a celebrated Non-Brahmin Sanyasi, Mauni Buwa, during the days of Shivaji the Great who heard of his great piety, purity and erudition, paid a visit to him at this Math on the top of the Sahyadri Mountain and gave him a few villages with which to meet the expenditure of the Math. On this historic institution, His Highness engrafted the idea of a reformed Jagadguru for his order. In this Kshatriya Guru were thus combined the ascetic ideals of the eighteenth century saint and the Vedic ideals of the Kshatriya—not a caste but an order without reference to birth or race—holding its own in matters spiritual as well as secular. Being free to live a married life, if he chose to do so, the new Jagadguru was placed in a position which was above the temptations which often turn Maths into centres of immoral life. Nor is there any hereditary claim allowed to the incumbent on the Gadi for the time being. The demoralisation which usually sets in as a result of the hereditary Guruship is thus rightly avoided. The choice of successors is to be subjected to sanction by the Darbar whose natural interest it would always be to select the best fitted man for the post. A more distinctly elective system would undoubtedly be better: but, in the circumstances of its origin, it was impossible to devise an elective system and no blame could be attached to its founder for the absence of what it was impossible to bring about. The first choice was made with the greatest care that could be taken under the circumstances. Mr. Patil had formed views on public questions which were in full accord with the ideals of the Non-Brahmin movement and even as a College student he had ventilated his views in a vigorous style

The Kshatra Jagadguru at the Patagas Math.

through the columns of the Non-Brahmin Press. Intelligent, broad-minded, public spirited and thoughtful, he was a devoted student of philosophy with an extraordinary ability for clear expression and exposition. The Maharaja kept him in close company with himself for some months which were spent in useful discussions on public matters. The installation then took place at Patgaon with all the formality that was usual in cases like this under the supervision of Babasaheb Khanvilkar who was now in charge of the Devasthan affairs. On 24th January 1921, His Highness wrote to the new Jagadguru.

"Your Holiness should begin your work quickly. Please continue your studies in philosophy. Your ideal ought to be to do away with all middle-men between God and man. It should not be like that of the other Swamis. Your objective should be the service of the country and of the people.

"A Vedic School should be started at Patgaon and its prospectus may be sent to me.

"What more shall I, an ignorant disciple, write to Your Holiness?"

The progress of the Kshatra Jagadguru's mission was carefully attended to by the Maharaja. He gave him all the respect due to his position as the religious head of the Kshatriya order. When His Excellency Sir George Lloyd visited Kolhapur, His Highness threw himself, as was customary, at his Guru's feet in His Excellency's presence and showed that he was whole-heartedly bent upon establishing the Guru as his spiritual head. One of his high Mahratta officers addressed the new Guru in somewhat derogatory style and was fined Rs. 100 for this impertinence. Coming to know of the desire of another Maharaja to have the Vedokta ceremony, His Highness wrote to him as follows :—

"My dear Maharajasaheb,

"I am told Your Highness desires to have all your religious ceremonies performed according to Vedokta ritual as befits Kshatriyas. Your Highness knows the action taken by us

here. We have now founded with a view to further our cause a Shivraj Kshatriya Samaj. There an arrangement has been made to get all our religious functions performed by Mahrattas. To give permanence to the institution, we are making use of the holy seat at Patgaon of the celebrated godly person Mauni Buwa. He was a Kshatriya saint respected and revered by all Mahrattas. He was in fact Jagadguru of Mahrattas and conducted his religious worship with Vedokta rites. We wish to revive the seat by installing a worthy Mahratta on the Gadi and constitute him our Jagadguru. It will be his business to see that Vedokta ritual is followed by all Mahrattas and to help the community in the solution of religious difficulties. For this purpose he will have Mahrattas expert in Vedic lore, who would be comparable with any learned Brahmin. Thus it is proposed once for all to break away from the Brahmin yoke and rid ourselves of the religious domination of this wily caste. I have made a beginning and my household religious worship is now performed by Mahrattas. I enclose herewith a copy of the order that I have passed in the matters. One of my leading nobles, Sardar Japtanmulkh, has followed my example and in the recent Gokulashtami ceremony, had the religious worship done by Mahrattas as all his household religious functions are. If Your Highness wishes to join our Kshatriya Samaj, I shall with pleasure train and send priests belonging to our community selecting suitable men there as well as here. To get an idea of what is being done here, Your Highness may kindly send a few intelligent officers from there to Sardar Khanvikar. Notwithstanding Parshurama's attempts to exterminate Kshatriyas, repeated twenty-one times, Rama and Krishna survived. Shivaji and his brave followers bathed their swords in blood and Kshatriya warriors like Tanaji Malusre, Yesaji, etc., fought and preserved the shikha sutra of Brahmins. Yet before the blood on their swords was dry strenuous attempts were made by the ungrateful Brahmins to stamp

the very Kshatriyas as Sudras and Shivaji had to get the erudite Pandit of Benares, Gagabhat, to establish their Kshatriya status. Could there be greater ingratitude and tyranny ? The first Shahu Maharaja had to undergo the same troubles and difficulties and the deportation of Pratapsingh Maharaja of Satara is to be traced to the same cause. Balaji Peshwa, a Karkun of Dhanaji Jadhav, became the prime minister of the Satara Maharaja and his descendants threw their sovereign into prison and attempted to wrest the throne from him. What a villany! . . . So long as a ruler is strong and energetic, these Brahmins dare not do anything to him. But if his successor is weak, they will not hesitate to bring ruin on him. Therefore it is better once for all to break away from their religious dominance. Baburao Yadav who knows everything about this is sent to Your Highness with this letter. Facilities may kindly be afforded to him to deliver lectures there. He is a man of strong views and deep convictions."

His Highness persuaded His Highness the Rajasaheb of Mudhol to acknowledge the new Jagadguru by inviting him to his State and according to him all the honours due to his position. This was in November 1921.

A question of greater importance than the Jagadguru's work outside Kolhapur was the attitude of his own family towards the radical changes His Highness was making in the social life of his family and his people. As he often said, the fate of all great work in a State hung on the slender strings of very uncertain future possibilities and a weak successor might undo all the work of years. The ladies of the family constituted another vital factor in matters of social and religious reforms whose permanence depended so much on their true inclinations. Her Highness the Ranisaheb was giving indications of her sympathy with Depressed Classes by liberally helping them. But it took many efforts on His Highness' part to bring the Ranisahib round to his own

Non-Brahmin views on religious questions. The most successful means for this purpose was the exposition to her of all the Puranic stories on which the deliberately imposed degradation of the Non-Brahmins and the immoral teachings of the Brahminical mythology were based. Having prepared the ground by this education he kept her in touch with the Brahmin intrigues behind the scenes as well as with their more direct attacks on him and his family in the vernacular Brahmin Press. The violence of these attacks was indeed very helpful from this point of view. No member of the Chhatrapati family was immune from these attacks which often descended to the basest of personal insinuations against him and even against the ladies of his family. I do not dare even to allude to the specific nature of these attacks against the whole family. Their unscrupulousness defeated their own purpose and confirmed every member of his family in the views which long experience had taught him to hold. On December 21, 1920, His Highness wrote to his Ranisaheb :—

"You are certainly aware of what is published in the *Loksangrah* of December 20, under the heading "the Kshatriya Parda Ladies of Kolhapur." You must be remembering that some time back *Kurtkoti* published similar mean attacks against Her Highness Akkasaheb Maharaj. The Brahmin Press has reached the climax in defaming us and our family. If you are my true wife, you will do away with the Brahmin Priests henceforward and get all religious rites done by the Kshatriya Priests of your own caste. Never swerve from this determination."

His Highness wrote similarly to his brother, daughter, daughters-in-law and brother's wife.

In the case of his son, there does not seem to have been much difficulty, With the ideas which a long stay in England had given him, he was in full sympathy with the aspirations of the Non-Brahmin movement. He and his companions in England had taken a prominent part in the attempt to create

public opinion in favour of the liberal legislation on inter caste marriages and other problems and the anti-untouchability movement launched by his father. But he had, it seems, to overcome the initial difficulty of all highly equable temperaments to realise that in the case of certain classes in India, a presumption of innocence and sincerity cannot be safely made as a principle. A man likes to start with an assumption that a Brahmin is as good in social matters as anyone else and unless the contrary is proved, it is unjust to presume otherwise. History being, however, what is, it is safer in practical affairs, where a slight mistake may prove disastrous, to refuse to give the benefit of a favourable presumption in certain cases unless positive, long and decisive experience warrants another conclusion. The necessity for this departure from usual practice in the case of Brahmins by those who have an active Non-Brahmin propaganda, however innocent, on hand, requires an effort and experience to be fully grasped and appreciated. His Highness realised this well ahead and put the Yuvaraj on the enquiry into the frauds of the Kulkarnis against the ryots. The disturbances and riots of April and May 1919 in certain villages of the State, arising out of the war of Non-co-operation declared against some Brahmin Kulkarnis by the ryots, who were goaded on to it by the desperation resulting from long suffered tyranny, gave him an opportunity to investigate the mischievous nature of their intrigues against gullible Non-Brahmin villagers in the State. "Let me tell you," he wrote to a friend on May 29, 1919, "that my son has somewhat changed since his return from Gadhinglaj. Now he is not so Brahmosiled, because there was nothing wrong at Gadhinglaj. Of course he cannot change at once. Still he has seen some of the fine wicked tricks of the ** I am putting him up on all these cases of B's. and Ryots." On June 11, he tells the same friend that the Yuvaraj had by then learnt some of the tricks of the "Brahmins whom he so admired." As we shall see, the

Yuvaraj was a shrewder observer of humanity than His Highness thought him to be. But if His Highness erred on the side of cautiousness, he was doing so wisely and in the cause of interests which were immense. Any error on his part to plant his son, wife, daughter and the rest of the family firmly on the road he was marching along, would have been the ruin of a life-time's most strenuous work in a cause which was noble.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Problems of his Order.

I.

The complexity of the problem—Early interest in the Meers and other Chiefs—The Princes' Conferences at Delhi—Education of Minor Princes—No interference advisable from outside—Ideas about education of Princes—A democratic education necessary.

THE Indian States under indigenous rule extend over one-third of the area of this country and include a fourth of its total population. More than this, they are scattered over the whole country in more or less small batches all over the land and owe allegiance to over six hundred Princes or Chiefs each of whom possesses sovereign powers in varying degrees. The normal and general form of Government in all of them is purely personal and differs entirely from that to which the rest of India has been accustomed since the introduction of British Rule and to which they are now being steadily trained. To this might be added the complexity of the problem to which Indian Society has given rise on various accounts, and then we may hope to comprehend to some extent the difficulty of the problem which this Indian India presents to those who look ahead and try to guide the present with an intelligent conception about the future of this important part of our country. His Highness the Maharaja Shahu Chhatrapati was not slow to realise the difficulties which made it all the more necessary that the more intelligent and capable of the Princes ought to apply themselves wholeheartedly to a solution of them. His interest in the aristocratic members of his own order was always keen, so keen as to be personal, and showed that he was above caste and creed in his sympathies with his brother Princes. Since so far back as 1902, he had been interested in the family quarrels of the Khairpur Meers and until the last years of his life he continued to do his best to settle their affairs satisfactorily to the father and the

sons. He frequently interceded on their behalf and tried to use the influence of the Bombay Government in the cause of peace in the family. "Rest assured," he told one of the family in April 1920, "I shall never rest until I have brought this matter to a successful issue. . . I stand security that he (the son) will obey Your Highness when he comes to you." Similar family quarrels nearer home, for instance, in the neighbouring State of Miraj, called forth his interest in the harmony and peace of the families of his brother Princes. The well-known misfortunes of the ex-Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh, Gopalkrishnarao Parsharam *alias* Nanasaheb, had attracted his attention since 1907 and he tried to the best of his abilities to get justice done to that unlucky and unjustly treated chief. The annual Conferences of Princes convened by the Government of India since the days of Lord Minto gave his interest a wider and more scientific scope and shape. He began to take a deep interest in the proceedings of these Conferences and contributed materially to the discussions in them. At the outset I may observe the handicap that clogged him in these Conferences, I mean his being untrained for platform eloquence, which stood in the way of his earning the reputation which he was fully entitled to by the shrewdness of his insight into the subjects discussed and by the boldness with which he fought for his own views.

One of the subjects discussed in these Conferences, the education of minor Princes and the form of administration during these minorities, had a special attraction for him. As the British Parliament is the Mother of Parliaments, he said, my State is "the mother of minority administrations." This was a very apt description of facts which we have already noticed and which gave to him some very strong convictions which he placed before the Conferences with all the strength of deep convictions. On the eve of the Delhi Conference of Princes in 1916 he wrote a Note for its members in which he expressed himself frankly on these points. The

idea of some was that the Princes in India are careless about the education of their sons. "It is not," wrote His Highness, "that at present parents are unwilling to part with their boys. They have their education at heart and are ready to send them to colleges like the Deccan or the Elphinstone College or even to England and America. But they are not sent to our present Chiefs' Colleges. This is because these Colleges are not properly equipped and manned. If they were manned by European masters and European boys of good family were admitted into them (which is another suggestion I would make), the minor Chiefs would be immensely benefitted. The present institutions at Rajkote, Ajmeer and Indore will be of use and the question of the Delhi College may be taken up after these institutions are properly equipped and well manned as suggested above."

"The education of the sons of the Rulers," he continued, "should be entirely in their hands. There should be no interference, direct or indirect from outside. If the Rulers are considered fit to administer their States, they should be trusted to look after the education of their sons. Any interference against the wishes of the Rulers does more harm than good. If there be such interference, the Rulers will try to counteract it and in this tussle, the education of the minors is sure to suffer.

"When the minor Chief is under the guardianship of Government, the latter, no doubt, take every possible care of his education. But in this respect there are certain things which are apt to be lost sight of. The minor is sometimes removed altogether from his State and is handed over out and out to a European lady or gentleman. When he is thus brought from his childhood, he has no respect for his religion, manners and customs. He has no sympathy with ways of life of his people. He dislikes their food, their manners, their way of living and everything about them. This is not at all desirable. He must now and then come in contact

with his family, his relations and subjects and from childhood, the traditions of the family and State and the manners and customs of the people.

"The course of study should be settled by a committee of three educationalists, two Europeans and one Indian, of experience in teaching Indian boys. Their tutors also should be men having a similar experience. This is very necessary as teaching English boys is quite different from teaching Indian boys, whose mother tongue is not English. Military and Civil Officers have no experience of the art of teaching and cannot be expected to understand how to teach Indian boys. They may prove good companions after the boys are of full age."

He was so dissatisfied with the education imparted in the Chief's Colleges that he refused, as we have seen before, to send his sons to any of them. But some of the other Princes differed from him at least in respect of the ideals to be placed before Princes under training. His Highness was a true democrat by nature; but others thought that their sons should not be associated with boys even of the best among the commoner classes of their countrymen. As a shrewd compromise, His Highness suggested that the Chiefs' Colleges should, at any rate, be such as would induce Europeans holding high offices in India to send their sons for education there. "As at present constituted, manned and equipped, the Colleges will be attended"—His Highness very cuttingly observed—"only by minor Princes and Chiefs who have none to look after them." He wanted them to be so well conducted as to be approved by European Officers who would feel tempted to send their own sons to the schools. Considering the difficulties which beset Princes and the fact that the control of these Colleges lies mainly in the hands of these high Officers, His Highness was insisting on the most effective means of making the Colleges efficient and securing for the young Princes a desirable form of education when he was advocating this ideal.

In another Note, His Highness went still further and pointed out what should be the aim of education to be imparted to the youth of his Order. "It must be borne in mind," he said, "that the conditions of the country are rapidly changing —(His Highness wrote this in 1916)—and after the Great War, will change still more quickly as a very large number of Indians who have served or are now serving in the army abroad will return with their minds opened as they have never been opened before and their demands will, therefore, be greater than before. The consequence will be a demand for a larger share in the administration in British India and this will be felt in the Native States and then the Ruling Chief will realise the difficulty. Hence we must now prepare ourselves to meet that demand and be prepared to take the lead . . . . If we are not prepared to meet our subjects' demands, they will create all sorts of obstacles resulting in administrative anxieties." In yet another Note, His Highness said that the subjects of Indian States "no longer worship them (the Princes) as superior beings who can do no wrong but look to them for the promotion and protection of their interests and welfare along the modern lines they see in neighbouring British India."

The question, therefore, arose whether "we shall learn best how to lead and direct in an institution where we only meet with a handful of our own class of people who are not, perhaps, very prepared at heart to accept these innovations." The conclusion which His Highness rightly drew was that the education of the Princes should be more liberal than it was and should bring them into contact with other educated classes in India. So the Princes' College should be, he thought, a teaching University of the Oxford or Cambridge type or a College affiliated to some University "where not only the Princes and Sardars but also the sons of well-to-do educated Indian gentlemen should be admitted to receive high education." "If this course is not adopted,"—he asks—

"how then can we expect with our imperfectly developed institutions to reap those great advantages which the English people justly claim for the public school and University system, and how are we with our means to accomplish the task we have undertaken, the task of providing for our sons such training that they may become educated gentlemen in the best and the widest sense of the term, and acquire those noble qualities of mind and that high sense of duty which characterise in such a special degree the nobility of England and which alone can make them into Rulers capable of governing their States in the wise, liberal and enlightened principles which mark the administration of British India?" The Princes of India have not on the whole answered this question in the way they should. But no one—not even his worst critics—can deny that these were not empty words in the mouth of His Highness but they were words which only expressed the ideals of education which His Highness had actually followed in the case of his own sons whom he had placed amid democratic surroundings of the most undiluted kind, despite the advice of some of his oldest and most affectionate friends in England. When he addressed these thoughts to his Order, he spoke the truth and spoke from that best of knowledge—the knowledge born of one's own experience.

II.

Connection between the States and British India—His Highness differs from the majority of his Order—The system of 'ins and outs' for the Council of State—The interdependence of Indian and British India—The Montagu-Chelmsford Enquiry—Agitation for Joint Commissions—A Deputation to Mr. Montagu suggested—The difficulties—Interview with Mr. Montagu—A Tribunal proposed—A fight for the Smaller Chiefs—The claims of Deccan Chiefs—Their Conference at Kolhapur —Repeal of the Press Act of 1910—The attacks of the Brahmin Press—His Highness' view of his critics—The peculiar position of Princes gives rise to blackmailing—A case for the Protection of Princes—Other questions.

The year 1917 with its historic enunciation of a new constitutional policy in India stimulated His Highness to many activities, one of the most notable among which was the

problem of the Princes in the new era. The Princes as a whole on one side and the Government of India on the other side have always agreed that the States are an independent entity, apart altogether from British India which not only surrounds them on all sides but thrusts innumerable wedges into the States, at almost every point of their existence. "We have no desire," said His Highness the Gaikwad on behalf of the Princes' Conference in 1916, "to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want anybody outside our States to interfere with the affairs of our own States and ourselves." Our Maharaja differed entirely and fundamentally from this view of the vast majority of Princes in India and tried as occasions arose to impress his own views on them, though without the success which these views deserved. His own position as the traditional leader of the Mahratta Nation probably—though it may be without his own knowledge—made any other attitude on his part impossible. He was also an ambitious Prince himself who never shrunk back from the often awkward positions arising out of this attitude. He loved those complications which were, more often than not, of his own seeking and making; and he felt very uncomfortable of himself without being involved in the strife and struggle of the national life of India as a whole. "The States do not occupy," he said in criticising the Patiala Draft Scheme for a Princes' Chamber about the beginning of 1918, "a separate one third but they are fenced on all sides by British Territory . . . And whether the Indian Princes care to notice or not, British policy as a whole is materially affecting the States." He went on :—

"Theoretically, there is no difference of opinion about the point that the States should not interfere with the internal affairs of British India and that British India should not interfere with the affairs of the States. The British Provinces themselves are claiming autonomous Governments and I do not think any one wants to dabble with the internal ad-

ministrations of the States. If an analogy is wanted the Indian States are having and will continue to have, like the German States, administrative and legislative independence according to the terms of the treaties. But that does not solve the difficulty of the present position of the States. There are the questions sometimes of the very existence of the States, questions of common interest, questions regarding the relations between the States and the suzerain power and between one State and another, and questions relating to the inquiries into the conduct of the administration by the Princes and Chiefs, etc., which ought to be faced boldly and solved."

This was only a part of what he felt on the question. The great and vital part he played in the non-Brahmin problem in the Deccan gave him wider opportunities to ventilate his views on the question. I shall have to refer to this in the next chapter. But I should observe here that His Highness proposed that a system of "ins and outs" should be applied to the Council of State which he thought should consider all questions affecting all-India (including the States) interests and that a certain proportion of its members should be representatives of the Indian States who should take part in deliberations on those questions only. The co-ordination of the States with the constitution of British India in its relations with questions of Imperial and All-Indian importance was to him a great necessity and no difficulties, he thought, should deter statesmanship from a courageous attempt to meet that necessity. The States are no more separate from the Government of India than any of its Provinces and if autonomous Provinces can be co-ordinated under the Indian Government, the States—perfectly autonomous within their own limits and for all internal purposes—should also form integral parts of a well constituted nation proceeding on analogous lines towards a common goal and along a uniform path. As members of one Empire, the States even now are admittedly parts of one India with a representative of their own,

though selected by the Government at present, sitting side by side with an Indian representative of British India at the Conferences of the British Empire as nothing less than his own colleague. The Government of India is one Imperial unity presiding over the whole Continent embracing within it as much the States as the Provinces. If that Government is slowly but surely accommodating itself to the rising aspirations of British India for responsible Government, His Highness thought, that could not but affect the Princes and their territories. As long as that Government remained entirely controlled from Whitehall, a power outside both parts of the country, the position was different. But with the recognisedly growing tendency of even Delhi to be responsive and increasingly responsible to public opinion in British India, how could the States remain aloof from the currents which ran through the public life of a democratic India? The introduction of Indians into the Government of India opened one door through which directly or indirectly British-Indians could influence the lives of the Princes. When the Government as the Government of India took a decision affecting the States, would the Indian Members of Council be shut out? If not, as they cannot be, will they not seek to bring into the deliberations of the Government the views of the British Indian whom they ought to represent in a certain measure? The controversy over the Princes Protection Bill of 1922 afforded an excellent justification of the view which His Highness held on these matters. I shall revert to this topic a little later on. But in the meanwhile, we may note here how the whole conduct of the Political and Foreign Department of the Government of India was brought under discussion in the Legislative Assembly in March 1923. On a motion to reduce the grant for the expenses of the Governor-General in this Department, a discussion was rightly opened concerning some questions affecting that Department's policy towards the States. The more important point was that the

non-officials in the Assembly complained—and I think rightly—that while they were called to legislate for the protection of the Princes, they were not able to discuss all the subjects which were relevant to that discussion. Looking at it from the standpoint of the Princes, may we not say that while the Legislature at Delhi passes Bills and imposes taxes which directly concern the people and the Rulers of the States—and this must of necessity be done in the course of their duties relating to British India itself—it is often unable to understand the needs of the States themselves and, from sheer ignorance, casts unmerited reflections upon good Princes and affronts them by rejecting unceremoniously necessary measures of protection to the Princes? The States can no more be separated from British India than one part of the nerve system in an organic body can be separated from the rest. His Highness was endowed with a wider outlook on this problem than that of many in and outside the States.

When therefore he saw the fateful announcement of August 20, 1917, and when the Secretary of State and the Viceroy began their perigrinations in India in search of materials upon which to work up a new constitution for British India, he strained every nerve to emphasise his own point of view on his brother Princes and those two high officials. He wrote out his views on the needs of the Princes and circulated them among them, asking them to express their views on the points suggested. There were many among them who were surprised with the outspokenness of his little pamphlets. He laid special stress on the question of deciding all differences between the Government and the Princes by reference to a Tribunal in the nature of a joint representative Commission. Some approved of it but others thought the question was too delicate to be taken up at that stage. His Highness explained how the Princes had to suffer at the hands of Political Officers when they differed from them

and knowing as we do how many of them are terribly afraid of the Officers—more from a sense of their own weakness than anything else, though in ome cases without any fault whatever on their own part—no one need be surprised at the timidity of those who held that the question was too delicate to be touched. His Highness had however made up his mind and he at once began to agitate the question. He wrote to many Princes and suggested to them—and among them was His Highness of Bikaner—a deputation to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. He said on October 21st writing to His Highness of Bikaner :—

"I find that various institutions of all castes, creeds and views are sending deputations to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu. I should like to suggest that a deputation of the Princes may also be sent to him on behalf of us all. If my suggestion meets with approval, matters to be placed before him may be settled after we meet in Delhi.

"I do not know how to move this question. I am a Bombay Chief and am not much acquainted with the working of the Government of India. If Your Highness approves of the idea, may I request Your Highness to kindly let me know how we should proceed and what subjects might be touched on by the deputation in their interview with Mr. Montagu."

At the same time, he had prepared his own suggestions and was discussing them with his friends. Some of the Princes were apparently averse to the idea of a deputation and they based their objections on grounds of prestige. Some thought that if any Princes are to go to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State it should be all of them and as that was not possible—there would be a Congress instead of a deputation—they suggested that no one should go. "It is of course impossible for us all," His Highness said, "to meet him (Mr. Montagu) and the only alternative is for a few representatives elected by the Indian Princes to interview him. It may not be called a

deputation if the word is objectionable; but I think an interview of representative rulers to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State on the present occasion is most essential. We would be failing in our duty to posterity if we let go this opportunity which by Heaven's grace has been afforded to us after so many years. Perhaps for many a year more it may not come again and that is why I am so particular and persistent about my proposal." His Highness at last succeeded in inducing his brethren to adopt his suggestion which resulted in the Viceroy and the Secretary of State making the beneficent proposals which they embodied in their famous joint Report. But there were some difficulties more as to who should speak and on what points. One well known Prince who must remain unnamed suggested that he and not Kolhapur should move the tribunal question to Mr. Montagu. Writing on November 9th he wrote to him from Delhi where he then was for the year's Conference :—

"I have already told Your Highness how I admire the good work Your Highness is doing and as advised by Your Highness I shall not speak to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu about my proposal of a tribunal. If you, however, should on second thoughts change your mind, I shall touch upon the subject at my interview with him . . . "

His Highness interviewed the Secretary of State and the Viceroy at Bombay on December 12. After some preliminary discussions, the conversation turned upon the position of Indian Princes. His Highness said that the Princes would be more than satisfied if they were removed from unsympathetic treatment which they at times received. This treatment goes so far as to interfere with the education of their sons and it occasionally comes also in the way of their meeting their European and Indian friends for consultation. It would be better to have an independent tribunal to hear cases regarding differences between Indian States and Political Officers. This provision of an independent tribunal

would act as a check on Political Officers in their bureaucratic acts. After this conversation, His Highness handed over a copy of his leaflet on the question of a "*Tribunal on the lines of the Hague tribunal.*" Then the conversation turned on Home Rule. Mr. Montagu asked whether Home Rule in British India would affect the Native States. His Highness replied that it would; "Princes ought, however, to be able to cope with it. It may be necessary for the Princes to give more rights to the people as Home Rule in British India would be surrounding the territories of Indian States. In order that people should understand the rights given to them, it is absolutely necessary to introduce compulsory primary education in India. It is also necessary in order that Home Rule should be successful that the caste system must disappear and intermarriages should take place; otherwise, there is the fear of the development of an oligarchy."

The more important proposal from his own point of view was one dealing with the institution of a tribunal to investigate and assist Government in deciding differences arising between Princes and the Government's representatives or between Princes and Princes; or, again, between Princes and their guaranteed feudatories and may sometimes affect their "administrative or other acts." In making these proposals His Highness distinctly premised that the reasons which necessitated an impartial tribunal to adjudicate on points of differences did not at all apply in the case of many Political Officers whose conduct left nothing to be desired. "I know," His Highness said in his Note, "many a worthy Officer who takes the keenest interest in the welfare of the Chiefs with whom he has to deal and it would be nothing short of ungrateful not to express feelings of admiration and respect for them." "Nor do I complain," he continued, "about the action of Government. There is no comparison between the British Government and its predecessors—the Moguls and the Peshwas. The very fact of the Princes' Conference having been

brought into existence at the initiative of Government bears ample testimony to their earnest desire to do them good." His Highness was not saying this as a matter of form or etiquette. His relations with most of the Political Agents or Residents at his own capital were of the friendliest character and his State owed many an advantage from the good will of his political advisers. His cordial friendship with them survived their official connection with his State and in some cases assumed a personal relationship of the most happy nature. It was then with a view to promote true friendly relations that he suggested a tribunal which would remove all causes of friction and heart-burning which sometimes, though not often, cropped up and marred those relations.

Disputed questions of the kind mentioned above as fit for submission to a tribunal were sometimes disposed of on more or less one-sided reports from Political Officers, to which the Princes are denied access. These reports are often accorded an infallible character against trusted Princes while the reports of higher officers like the Commissioners of Divisions do not receive the same importance with Government in its dealings even with the notorious seditionists in British India. These latter Officers "are trusted officers of Government; yet their word is not taken as Gospel truth even as against men notoriously hostile to Government, while as against the Chief the word of the Political Officer is supreme." "If the latter has reasons to be displeased with the Chief on any account it is but natural that it should have effect in official matters. Questions disposed of years back are allowed to be raked up. Rights, privileges and usages of long standing are apt to be questioned. Attempt is made even to belittle and show in a different light the past good work of the Chief. The interference sometimes extends to the education of sons of Princes and also to matters of smaller importance. Certainly if the Princes are considered fit to administer their States they can well be trusted to look

after their son's education. Sometimes this tussle between the Chief and the Political Officer influences prejudicially the minor Princes and between the two pulling in opposite directions his education suffers. Sometimes European friends are not allowed to be approached or consulted privately, formally or informally. I consider this very unpleasant for the Chiefs. The result of all this is that much bad blood is stirred up. My own personal experience in such matters is very bitter. And instances both from my State and other States also could, I am sure, be cited in support of this."

His Highness had another discussion with Mr. Montagu on February 5th, 1918, at Delhi during the course of which he further impressed the need of such an open forum for investigation and trial of charges against Princes. This, he pointed out, was as necessary for Government as for the Princes themselves. There being no judicial tribunal, everything was done in camera, and even "a most generous and just policy followed by Government is always misinterpreted. Because the aggrieved party alone complains and what he says is believed by the public." That is not the fault of the public, however. Being kept in the dark about the grounds of the action taken, the public judges only from the one-sided stories they receive and there is nothing before the public from which they could be reliably contradicted. A tribunal will again encourage the Princes and the Government representative to behave in such a way as not to be afraid if their conduct is inquired into in open courts.* It is unnecessary here to do more than to say that the proposal for a tribunal inquiry into disputes of this nature found a place in the Report of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu and was substantially successful. A part of the credit for this may rightly be claimed for the strenuous efforts which His Highness made

* I have not attempted to improve the English of His Highness anywhere for the reason that I wish him to speak in his own language and that he never allowed his own advisers to try to improve it.

to popularise it among and commend it to the Princes themselves and to the illustrious framers of that Report.

The constitution of the New Chamber of Princes raised one or two very knotty questions on which His Highness fought bravely for the lesser Princes and Chiefs who were sought to be excluded therefrom. The question had been agitating the Princes for some time past. The original scheme for a Princes' Chamber, as drafted by a committee of some of the Princes, seems to have contemplated their inclusion in some form or other. But when a final draft was prepared by some Princes assembled at Patiala in 1917, the signatories of it decided to propose their exclusion from the scheme of a Princes' Chamber. His Highness strove hard and valiantly for these minor Chiefs whose exclusion he pithily described as the treatment of 'political unassociables' or 'untouchables.' "I differ from the Patiala draft scheme about the composition of the Chamber," he said, "and enter my strong protest against it. It is a decided set-back on the Bikaner Note. The scheme gives the eligibility for admission to the Chamber to those Princes only who have unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and the power to make their own laws." It further empowers the Chamber so constituted to "add to its number the rulers of other States whose inclusion the Chamber may deem advisable." I am aware the sentiment and want of a definite single criterion to fix the eligibility at, are difficulties which we have to meet. But if our claim is to speak for one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of this country, it is impossible to see why Princes with sovereign powers only should be the masters of the situation. This is the reversion of the principle of representation. Is the Committee aware as to what States it will have to exclude? It is an insult to the States so left out and I regret I have to say that the suggested method of composition will unfortunately be the beginning of the end of the Chamber before it is formed. Is the Chamber intend-

ed to unite or create a split? It is rather strange to see that (1) revenue, (2) population, (3) extent, (4) honours, (5) acknowledged position, (6) the respect in which certain States are held and (7) the time and the spirit in which we are living, should not have weighed with the Committee. Does the Committee want the Chiefs who have no sovereign power to form another Chamber in opposition to the one proposed? I am sure they would not allow the Chamber, as proposed to be constituted by the scheme, to represent them. And why should they? The British Parliament can have within its four walls almost the same number of members as the Princes and Chiefs of India. They do meet together, and can deliberate upon and decide matters of the highest importance to the whole of the world. The House of Lords does not make distinction between Dukes and Lords. The hereditary and created Peers do sit together. In countries which have State Government small and big states meet together. Prussia and other States can transact business together. I appeal most earnestly to my brother Princes and Chiefs to rise above sentiment and be equal to the occasion. We may have different number of votes for different States according to their status, importance, land revenue, etc., and may annex that list to the constitution of the Chamber, as is the case in Germany. Or we might give votes to groups of States on the basis of salutes, extent, population, powers, etc., if a body of all the Princes is considered unwieldy. But complete exclusion of some is undesirable."

The discussion went on for a long time. The basic idea of those who opposed his views was—and even the Joint Report had countenanced it—that there was a distinction in fact between "full power" and other States. His Highness did not believe in sweet but incorrect phraseology and asked his friends if really there was any full-power State in India from a truly international view-point. One prince tried to poke fun at His Highness for his reference to the analogy

of the Bundesrath. A joke, His Highness replied, is not an argument. Alwar and Navanagar advised His Highness to study the reports of the Alwar, Bikaner and Patiala Committees. "I wish they had given me arguments rather than references to reports," retorted Kolhapur. "In the right of a colleague," he said, "I must ask him, (Navanagar) as he had the right to tell me, to study old papers with due diligence and care which as our Secretary he is expected to do." The discussion went on in this fashion for many months until His Highness' views had won the field.

His Highness bestowed much special attention to the rights of the Chiefs in Maharashtra being recognised in the composition of the Princes' Chamber. So far back as October 1917, His Highness suggested to official friends that the Chiefs of Jamkhandi and Mudhol might be invited to the Conference at Delhi. "They have both returned from the front and have been loyally working in the cause of recruitment and helping every way they can during this critical time. From the Bombay Maharashtra side there should be at least 3 or 4 Chiefs to represent our part of the Presidency. At present I feel quite isolated at the Conference. If possible, some of my feudatories also might be invited." As however the question of standard of eligibility was then under discussion, the Government could not accept this suggestion. In 1919, the attempt to get the doors of the Chamber opened to those Chiefs was renewed. Some of the S. M. C. Chiefs had come to know how his Highness had championed their cause along with that of the minor Chiefs throughout India, and they were grateful to him for that action. In March of that year they decided to hold a Conference in consultation with the Maharaja to promote their entry into the Chamber and to consider the creation of an independent tribunal to settle matters of dispute between them and the Government. The sanction of the Bombay Government was accorded to this Conference in June 1919 and consequently it was held at

Kolhapur under the presidentship of His Highness on August 22. In many ways, it was an occasion of far-reaching importance. Most of the Chiefs of the Deccan attended it and the few who could not like Akalkot, Savanur and Phaltan expressed their agreement with the objects of the Conference. Chiefs of all castes and creeds, Hindus and Mahomedans, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, united in it for a common purpose under the leadership of the great leader of the Mahratta Nation. "I have been always urging," the President said to the assembled Chiefs, "that all the Indian Rajas should be included in the Council of Princes. The word 'Chief' does not sound well in my ears." The obvious reason was that the word indicated tribal leadership which was not a proper designation for the Indian rulers who were in a slightly varying degree the Rajas or Kings of their own people. The inclusion of the Chiefs or Rajas, as he would call them, would "give strength to our cause and will enable us to put forth vigorously our difficulties before the Government. Ever since my return from Delhi I endeavoured my best that a Conference of this kind should be held to represent the claims of the smaller States to Government. I requested His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to give us permission to hold such a Conference and His Excellency very promptly and graciously replied to me stating that His Excellency's Government had no objection to the holding of such a Conference." The Conference succeeded in securing for the Chiefs a place in the Princes' Chamber through an elective system adopted for the purpose and the thanks of the Chiefs are due to His Highness for his able advocacy of their claims.

His Highness' part in the deliberations of the Princes was entirely creditable to his energy and cleverness and elicited the encomiums of many competent judges of such matters. His Guru, Sir S. M. Fraser, congratulated him heartily on the ability with which he played his part. "I

have just been reading," he wrote, "the proceedings of the last Conference of Princes and was much interested in the very able and important speeches which you delivered in the course of the principal debates. The occasion was a historical one in view of the many great questions which came up for consideration out of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and for the first time the debates seem to have resulted in the variety of outspoken opinions which the Princes really entertain. A certain section of the Upper Indian States did not as usual have everything their own way, and I should like to congratulate you on the ability with which you put forward points of view too often overlooked. I was proud to see you thus taking the lead."

Another notable episode in this part of His Highness' life related to the repeal of the Press Act of 1910 and its substitution, so far as it concerned the Indian States, by the Princes' Protection Bill passed under peculiar circumstances in 1922 by the Council of State and ratified by the Home Government only recently. We have seen how his anti-sedition activities in 1906-09, which in their turn had grown out of the Vedokta aspects of the non-Brahmin agitation, exposed him to many a venomous attack from the Brahmin extremist organs throughout the Deccan and how he tried to ensure protection to himself from these attacks by impressing the need of some protective provision in the Press Act which was under consideration in 1909-10. The attacks grew bitter and more virulent when His Highness flung himself into the thick of the non-Brahmin movement which gathered strength and volume since 1917. The Kulkarni class of Kolhapur was not willing to take defeat lying down. They had their men in many places in Maharashtra and they could easily count upon the active support of their own extremist political allies of the Tilak School who, smarting under the reverses they had suffered before in Kolhapur, were only waiting for an opportunity to smash the Maharaja to pieces. Conferences

at Nipani, Sankeshwar and Tasgaon in the neighbouring Districts of Belgaum and Satara gave them a platform from which they could at least derive the consolation of returning abuse for defeats inflicted upon them by the Maharaja. All the pent-up wrath of the Brahmins now encouraged by the whole Kulkarni class of Kolhapur and blessed by the desperate revengefulness of the ex-Shankaracharya, Mr. Kurtkoti, found unbridled vent in these Conferences and the Brahmin Press, lashed to fury by the attacks of the Satya Shodhaks in Satara and elsewhere, faithfully reflected these attacks in their own columns. Once again the critics forgot that abuse and violent language are their own condemnation and do no good even to a good cause. Once again they forgot that the vanquished party ought to be moderate in tone and spirit if it is to have any reasonable hope of being heard with sympathy. Once again they forgot that the Marathi adage was after all true that even if they quaffed a cup of milk in a liquor-shop, they shared the fate of the votaries of intoxicants. "No man's life, wife or property," they said, "was safe in Kolhapur"—a sweeping dictum which was easy to disprove and impossible to prove. A section of the Press indulged not only in personal aspersions on the Maharaja but stooped low enough to revile his son and daughter, wife and daughter-in-law. They could have served their own cause, whatever it was, much better by a reasoned, moderate criticism of the public acts of the Maharaja and his Darbar in a spirit of fairness and fair play. But spitefulness was the main spring of their action and they could not bear in mind the canons of fair public criticism. Matters came to a head when an unfortunate disturbance attended the close of a Maratha public meeting in Bhavani Peth in the Poona City over which His Highness presided. The publication of extracts from his private letters—to which I have referred in a previous chapter and the publication in the columns of a Bombay daily of certain private notes of the Maharaja to

which a reference may be necessary in the next chapter—compelled His Highness to avoid for a time the possibility of being further embroiled in public controversies of an acrimonious nature. This was a triumph for the opposition which they misused for further malicious attacks on him and his family. The necessity for some legal remedy against such effusions in the Press relating to matters which even the deadliest foe should rightly view as too sacred for public comment was therefore borne upon his mind with an emphasis greater than ever before.

In July 1920, he wrote :—

"The present policy of Government, I learn, is not to take notice of such things. That is exactly the position these people want and which I do not want. Thereby they get an opportunity of scandalising me and creating a false impression about me especially among my subjects and even outside of my State, while I cannot take any step to get the public sympathy with me nor can I get any newspapers to write in my favour. I think my case has just become like that of an old cab-horse who worked honestly and was then well fed but who in his old age has been tied by the neck and hoofs, the native way of stabling a horse underneath a tree where he is pricked by crows, (he) being helpless . . . . The Government either should check these Brahmin crows from pricking the horse or let the horse go free without cutting his tail and without binding him in the native way of stabling."

The critics of the Kolhapur State contended that they had to resort to criticisms in the Press or the platform to expose misrule and to redress grievances. One reply which His Highness gave was that the Princes were personally responsible to the British Government for good government within their territories and they could not therefore be amenable to influence through an irresponsible Press. The Government was the proper tribunal to which grievances may be taken. But under the circumstances as we find them, the States are placed between

two masters one of whom alone they can obey and the other of whom therefore must of necessity resort to foul attacks. If the Government holds itself responsible for general good administration in the States for which purpose its representatives keep a careful watch on all of them, it ought to be the only Court of criticism and the Press in British India ought to be restrained from indulging in what often are ill-informed and ill-intentioned attacks on the Princes. How are the Princes to defend themselves from these attacks ? Are they free to meet the assailants on their own grounds ? Are they allowed to hold meetings and explain to them their policy or actions subjected to one sided attacks ? If they are not, is it fair to allow criticisms which the criticised cannot in the nature of things meet ? This weakness of their position makes the Princes an easy prey to the intrigue of blackmailers in British India who exact large annual contributions on pain of furious attacks on those who avoid those payments. Hearing that the Press Act was going soon to be repealed, His Highness ran up to Simla in September 1921 and discussed the subject with the Viceroy. Matters had then advanced so far that the Government was already committed to the removal of the Act from the Statute Book. But he urged his case so well that it could not fail to effect its purpose. He put his contentions in a Note from which one can easily gather the considerations he must have submitted to the Viceroy in the interview he had with his Highness in September 1921.

"The Press Act Committee," he said in the course of this Note, "has urged as one of the reasons for repealing the Press Act the fact that it was not used on more than three occasions in the interval. This does not however mean that occasions for its application arose only three times. Unfortunaely Government have been rather slow in enforcing the Act and even when, in the opinion of their legal Advisers, some occasions demanded its exercise, Government did not move in the matter at all.

"Government are making adequate provision for protecting their subjects from being harassed and terrorised by political agitators and mischief-mongers by declaring certain Volunteer Associations unlawful. Government are taking every precaution and rightly, to see that the Army or the Police is not affected by any evil influences. Government are taking prompt steps against seditious newspapers and many papers, as a consequence, have ceased publication. But the same consideration is not, I am constrained to say, shown to the Princes who are as important an asset to Government as their Army, Navy or Police and deserve similar protection.

"The poor Princes find themselves in an extremely difficult position. On the one hand, there is the Paramount Power which requires good administration in the Indian States; on the other hand, there is the Press which is supposed to be a check on bad administration. In India, the so-called public opinion and the views of the Government Officials are radically different on important administrative and other problems. The poor Indian Princes have to steer their course between these two too powerful and antagonistic forces. No one can envy the lot of the Princes. The extremists are doing their utmost to intimidate the Princes and force them to join their side. As our Hindu observer has it, "every one is afraid of the wicked." No wonder if some weak-minded Princes and even a few firm-willed may yield to their threats. It is easy to obey either of these forces; but it is impossible to obey both.

"To quote my own instance, the extremist Press which is never tired of maligning me is very much annoyed at the success of the Shivaji Memorial at Poona. For obvious reasons, they have selected me among the Princes as the target on which to wreak their spite. There can be no administration without some defects. The Brahmin papers under the pretext of criticising my administration are making all sorts of allegations against me for the simple reason that I have

not yielded to their threats or machinations. Their venomous attacks against me and my family can neither be called fair comment nor legitimate criticism; they are unmitigated calumny. These are not recent attacks, but I cannot forget or forgive them. Some of the Princes, like myself, follow a definite policy of sternly excluding the agitators from their territories and that is why they are hostile to us.

"One of the remedies, no doubt, open to the Princes for their protection is to have recourse to the ordinary Criminal Law Courts in British India. But their dignity and status do not permit them to do so. The agitators in British India take advantage of this anomalous position and launch attacks against them with impunity. Another reason why the Princes are unwilling to avail themselves of the British Law Courts is that they do not like to undergo the humiliation of cross-examination which may insinuate many things which may be untrue. His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the Chamber of Princes last year was pleased to remark that the mere existence of the Press Act is a force. If the Press Act is swept away from the Statute Book, there is no knowing to what lengths these rabid attacks might go. If the Princes are left to the mercies of the extremist Press, they will have no choice except to join the extremist side. God forbid such a contingency, but it would be safe to ensure that it may not occur. All that the Princes ask for is that they should be protected from the malicious attacks in the British Press. And who will deny the justness of this claim? What they ask for is no more than what is due to them, and I wonder if they should be satisfied with anything else."

The repeal of the Press Act, as I have said, could not be helped and His Highness therefore appealed to the Viceroy in his interview mentioned above that it was still open to His Excellency to pass some law to compass the end. After enumerating some of the personal attacks on his family, he asked the Viceroy to say if it was possible for any one to keep

his head cool 'under such wanton insults.' "Though I may bear them patiently," he asked, "would you expect an ordinary man to do so? He would probably at once proceed to shoot the writer." If any one of his subjects resorted to such primitive methods of revenge in a fit of rage, who could be responsible? The reader may not understand the full force of this appeal without knowing what kinds of insinuations were being made by some of the papers. But I must confess I cannot induce myself to cite these aspersions in this place. The best I can say of them is that they had nothing to do with anything which may be construed to be connected even in an indirect manner with any public or private interest. To suggest that the heir-apparent was effeminate or that a lady was an abandoned character—what public purpose, what conceivable interest could this serve? And how could one expect a decent Prince to enter a witness-box to answer questions relating to matters of this kind when any suggestions might be made and, though denied, might be incapable of public proof or disproof? I think the Princes were entitled to protection from such scandalous and scurrilous attacks and their suppression would be nothing but just and beneficial to public morals.

Some of the Princes who were more fortunate than His Highness in this respect, either because they never did any thing worth thinking of by the public outside their States, or because they confined themselves to buying the good graces of the leader-writers, or because their tendencies were generally on the side which dominated the Indian Press generally, were opposed to the Maharaja's insistent demand for protection. It is indeed possible to urge on theoretical grounds that a Prince ought to behave himself in such a way as to dissuade the critics from applying their lash to himself. But at any rate one such opponent of the Maharaja in this respect soon found that a Press may fall foul of a Prince without the latter being really at fault and though I cannot claim to speak

out his mind, it would be only right if he changed his view and realised the need of some protection for the Princes. There is only one view of the matter which deserves further notice. His Highness was never slow to admit that every administration in the East as well as in the West had its defects. It follows therefore that all honest efforts to expose those defects and rectify them must be as much protected as undeserved victims of malicious attacks must be. The cry raised against the protection claimed by the Princes like the Maharaja—and now extended to them by the Princes' Protection Act—misses the whole point in that it assumes wrongly that such legitimate criticisms are penalised by that legislation. The argument of those who demand protection to the people of the States in return for the protection sought by the Princes is irrelevant to the point at issue. The claims, rights or needs of subjects of our States stand by themselves and ought to be considered independently of the questions arising out of the malicious attacks levelled by people in British India against their rulers. Public criticism is a healthy stimulant to good government ; but that is neither foribidden nor deprecated by the Protection Act. On the contrary a judicial inquiry and trial in British Indian Courts of persons who are charged under the Act would obtain an excellent verdict as to whether a particular attack in the Press is fair and justified or otherwise—a verdict which the Political Department of the Government will be bound to respect. This ought to be not only a protection but a positive encouragement to honest criticism of administrative measures adopted by our Princes. The advocates of the Fourth Estate need therefore have no misgivings about the protection which Princes like His Highness sought and have now secured for themselves.

Among the other questions which engaged His Highness' attention during the last four years of his life and which were connected with the subject of this chapter was the transfer at any rate of his own State to the Government of India.

It involvedaquestion, in the first place, of statusand dignity. It was likely to help the speedy dispatch of work accruing from time to time between the Suzerain Power and the State. The political and constitutional change in the Provincial Government on account of the various alterations introduced and in the course of being carried into effect by the Reforms Scheme of the Government of India Act 1919, rendered such a transfer still more necessary. His Highness therefore tried to achieve this transfer as soon as possilbe. The fruit of his labours in this direction was within reach of His Highness when he died. But various circumstances which it is needless to go into here further postponed a final decision in this matter. The question was first moved in 1916 when Kolhapur with certain other States requested that they should be placed in directrelations with the Government of India on the ground that this would enable them to share with others the advantages of a uniform policy such as could only be possible under one Government. A Committee of Ruling Princes presented the same point for consideration to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in February 1918 when the two were collaborating at Delhi in connection with the Reforms problems. The result was that the principle underlying the claim was recognised by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, in so far as all important States were concerned. In November 1919, Lord Chelmsford announced to the Princes that His Majesty's Government had signified their general concurrence with the proposals of the Government of India and expected an early progress of the scheme outlined in the Joint Report. With all this history behind the question, it is to be regretted, as it was regretted by the Princes of the Bombay Presidency, that the scheme could not, according to the Government of India, be carried out wholly until some future date when the conditions would be more favourable. It is difficult to see how the circumstances for such a transfer were unfavourable at any time and still more difficult to narrate the unfavourable nature of the

conditions at a particular time, were they generally known, unless the Government itself admitted them to be the determining factors in the situation. This, and another question relating to the creation of an Agency to the Governor-General instead of a Residency for the S. M. C. States including Kolhapur which depended on this, are questions which remain to be pressed on the Government of India by the successor of His Highness who, let us hope, will be soon in more "favourable circumstances" than his father was in this respect.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Non-Brahmin Movement.

How the non-Brahmin Movement was affected by the Montagu announcement of August 1917—His Highness on the situation in 1917—The non-Brahmins hitherto working on communal and educational lines—Appeal for unity among them in 1906—Liberal social laws in Kolhapur—The registration of Pat Marriages—The Inter-Caste Marriage Law—Its bearing on the non-Brahmin Movement—The Divorce Act—The Cruelty to Women Law—H. H. begins as a conservative and ends as a bold reformer—His views on Marriages illustrates this change—Changes always for practical results—His part in the political non-Brahmin Movement—Communal representation—Help to non-Brahmin Journalism—And to other workers—The Peoples' Union—The Bombay Labour—The Hubli Conferences—The spirit of his work—The difficulties in his way—The internal quarrels of the party—Reserved seats versus separate electorates—Alliance with so-called Liberals—The Bhavani Peth Meeting—The scuffle and its purposes—The compromise proposals—The Prince Shivaji Hostel—The Deval Club—The Boy Scouts—Troubles in Kolhapur—The Tanjore Case—H. H. on Swarajya in India—The soil prepared in Kolhapur.

THE other great movement which took its birth in 1917 as a result of the Montagu announcement in Parliament was the political non-Brahmin movement in Madras and the Bombay Deccan. As I have shown before, this statement ascribing the origin of the movement to 1917 is only partially true. The thoughts and ideals and forces which run through the non-Brahmin movement are at least many centuries old. The usurped powers of the Brahmins in post-Vedic times may probably be the first beginnings of the movement in its widest sense. At any rate it must have been clear to the reader of these pages that for some generations past the feeling of discontent among the non-Brahmins was growing strong and persistent against the misuse of influence wrongly obtained and still more wrongly used by the Brahmins in the Deccan. It took one form at one time and another

on a subsequent day. The form was determined by the changing circumstances of the times. The political turn which the movement received during recent years was the natural result of the determination of Mr. Montagu to disturb the 'placid contentment' of the Indian masses which he thought, though not correctly, had hitherto lain unshaken and unshakable for ages past. But it is quite true that had not Parliament, impelled by the volcanic outbursts of new ideals generated by the Great War, enunciated a new policy for the progressive realisation of responsible self-government in India, the current of non-Brahmin thought would have continued to flow in other directions for many a year to come. The advanced circle of political idealists in India had certainly been aspiring for Swarajya for years past. But even the Radical Minister, Mr. Morely, had answered the cry for Swarajya by an unequivocal declaration that as far as he could pierce through the veil of futurity, there was no possibility of a Parliamentary form of Government in India. Assuming therefore that the immediate task before them was the socio-educational amelioration of the masses, that the ultimate responsibility for good government lay on Britain's shoulders and that their main interest consisted in loyalty to the British connection in which lay the hope of their ultimately reaching the goal of national life, the non-Brahmins in the Deccan were pursuing their peaceful callings and devoting what little energy they could for the education of their brethren and the reform of their religious and social system. The immediate advance towards another goal, a governmental system in which popularly elected Indians were to shoulder some of the burdens of administration and enjoy the rights of laying down and controlling broad public policy, was sprung upon them in August 1917. One of their unabashed socio-religious opponents was assuring a Legislative Council, in the very citadel of the British bureaucracy, that the masses in India would prefer a Brahmin oligarchy to the British bureaucracy

to rule over them. That was, if it still is not, the infatuated perversity of the Brahmin intellect which managed to lose sight of its own unmitigated sinfulness in the ages past, and with a convenient conscience which had so overgrown its original timidity as to exterminate successfully all sense of its own stupendous mischievousness in bringing into being what the great poet Tagore calls a "terribly wasteful" system in which the non-Brahmin's life is simply wasted. The political intriguers of that community were chuckling over the dreams of a Brahmin oligarchy re-establishing that portion of its power for self-aggrandisement of which British rule had deprived them. With ignorance and aversion for knowledge imposed upon them by a widely spread net-work of dogma and superstition eating into the vitals of their moral life; with the cast iron rigidity and inequity of the caste-system—the proud achievement of the Brahmanical religion—still teaching them that degradation and immorality were for them religious and divine; and with a political system which had reduced the non-Brahmins to abject helplessness as against the Brahmin bureaucracy holding the field even under the nose of the Civil Service and a Brahmin Bar controlling what was called public life in the country; the Brahmin politicians felt inwardly that the days of British supremacy in India were numbered and the assurance of a returning era of their own domination was gaining daily strength throughout their ranks. The British rulers in India who were hitherto the admitted trustees of the interests of the masses—how far they were true to the trust or carried out their duties arising out of their trust is another story—were now looking on with stoic indifference to the conditions prevailing among the people who had hitherto put all their confidence in the theoretically all-powerful British rulers of their country and who stood amazed on the threshold of a revolution—and nothing less than a revolution—in their political system. The Cabinet had indeed taken care to

qualify their declarations by such words as "gradual" "progressive" and "step by step." The situation of the world as it appeared during the weary years of the war, with the fortunes of the allied Arms still hanging in the balance, with the star of the Germans still in the ascendant, with the Turks still unsubdued and the Mussalmans of India still hoping to see Islam once again the master of the world,—that situation gave a new colour to the declaration which its words did not justify but which was as true as anything could be in the eyes of the public. The spirit, the permanence, the very soul of the British prestige were vanishing in the air. Their statesmanship, but a few years back unwilling to see representative government even dimly on the Indian horizon, had now descended from its high pedestal and the epithets which pretended to modify the immediate grant of complete Swarajya to India were looked upon as mere devices to cloak the real pressure under which the announcement was made. I do not say this was the whole truth. But that it was the prevailing feeling among the Indian people who knew anything of these developments, is unquestionably true. Men who had hitherto insisted upon British influence in India as a *sine qua non* of Indian progress, men who had hitherto preached the necessity of reconstructing the social and moral life of the country as an essential and indispensable condition precedent of political progress, men who always felt that Swarajya was a somewhat distant goal and could only be attained after an arduous period of apprenticeship, men who like the founders of the Congress and the Servants of India Society laid down a long course of moral, intellectual and economic development as the only way to the attainment of an equal status with the self-governing Dominions in the British Empire—all of them had perforce to re-examine their own fundamental principles and adjust them to the sudden change that had come upon them. The feeling of the ordinary non-Brahmin was strikingly brought out at an interview with Mr. Montagu and

Lord Chelmsford in December 1917 when a deputation of the Deccan Ryots—that was the style under which the non-Brahmins in the Bombay Deccan were then working—discussed with them the necessity of reforms with communal representation as its essential basis. Pointing to the representation of the All-India Depressed Association—which in fact summarised the causes which were urged in support of the communal claim by the Deccan Ryots—Mr. Montagu asked if that was not a complete case against the grant of provincial autonomy which even they claimed. 'Yes,' replied the unwary Secretary of the Ryots, 'but it is *you* who are giving India self-government and we can only ask for a safeguard in the form of communal representation.' "It is *progressive* and not immediate or complete," retorted the Viceroy with emphasis. "That is true. But the point is that *You* have come to grant us *Swarajya* and what we can at the best do is to provide a safeguard for us," was the only answer that could be given.

This somewhat lengthy preface to the part which His Highness was called on to take in the public life of the Deccan is necessary for a correct appreciation of its nature. Others with less tenacity and doggedness and with a readier adaptability to the new spirit quickly shifted their grounds. The Moderate Congress politicians who had laid down a distinct course of progress for the attainment of their goal gave up their position by one long leap forward. The Mussalmans of India—the sheet anchor of conservative politics in India till a few short years back—took up their position in the vanguard of the agitators. It was a curious coincidence that the only two Home Rule Leagues in India which were started owed their birth to the two Provinces in which Brahminism was doing its worst. The Tilak League was started in Belgaum, then the home of the non-Brahmin infant agitation, and close on the borders of the Kolhapur State. The Besant League was launched into existence at Madras, the home of Dr. Nair and

Sir P. Theagaraya Chettiar. The British people too appeared to have undergone a change and the 'changed angle of vision' was now a classic phrase in the political terminology of India. The effect of all these stormy changes was clear on all sides even in the most conservative corners of the country. "What I wish," urged His Highness in December 1917, "is that the policy of Government should not change with men. It must be coutinuous and fearless and then I have no doubt that any attempts to force their hands by passive resistance"—that is what the new Home Rulers were then threatening to do—"will fall flat." In July 1918, he expressed himself thus:—

"The so-called Home Rule party is neither in touch with the masses nor have they sympathy for them. All they want is power for themselves . . I do not at all like the idea of these extremists holding out a threat to Government at such a critical time. They say in effect that if their demand for Home Rule is not satisfied, they will not help Government in getting recruits as if they can influence recruiting one way or the other. But the wonder is Government, I am inclined to believe, is afraid of them. I am decidedly of opinion that they cannot raise a single recruit nor will they be able to prevent men from offering as recruits. The masses do not know these men. The Brahmins could not raise the promised number of men, though it was a very small number they could offer to give even from their own classes. Far from raising a battalion, I think they could not even get together a sufficient number for a Brahmin company. *Such are the people of whom Government are now afraid.* I am speaking rather plainly but I beg to be excused if I overstep the limit. The non-Brahmins are only just now awakening to their degraded condition and to the severity of the social and religious laws of Brahmins which had hitherto put them down. Naturally they are suspicious of these so-called Brahmin leaders and are afraid that if power again went into their hands, attempts would be made to bring back to life the old Brahminical regime. Their

religious heads are already trying to organise their forces on the modern methods and revive what they call *Chaturvarnya*—the old four water-tight compartments of castes among Hindus—Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Naturally they are afraid that under the levelling influence of the sympathetic rule of the British Government, castes may lose their rigidity and non-Brahmins may rise in the social scale and may try to come up with the Brahmins and claim equality. From their point of view, they are perhaps right. The British rule has certainly conferred this great blessing on the ignorant and down trodden masses. They have just now begun to see and realise the past in its true colour and to know the causes of their present degraded condition. They certainly want the same kindly and sympathetic administration till they are, so far as literacy goes, in some degree at least comparable to the Brahmins. They naturally wish that the great gulf between them and Brahmins should lessen and should not at any rate be allowed to widen. With this end in view, I am trying to introduce free and compulsory education in my State."

We have already traced the growth of the non-Brahmin awakening in Kolhapur particularly through its educational movements. The co-existence of several castes or communal organisations bringing up their youth in the Western ideals of public life, tempering those ideals with experiences from actual Indian social conditions, could not fail to create a higher non-Brahmin atmosphere congenial to the growth of fellow-feeling and solidarity among all the Backward Communities, Hindu or Mussalman. So far back as 1906, in requesting His Highness to open the new buildings of the Jain Hostel, I had occasion to give expression to this growing sense of mutual co-operation and interdependence in these terms :—

"There is community of interest between the various uneducated castes which should, as a matter of natural sequence, lead them to combine their experience and talents

to evolve the *modus operandi* for the achievement of the objects common to them. The historical causes that have repressed them in their growth, the social and religious institutions that have rendered their latent capacities unavailable for their progress, the disabilities that have been inflicted by these institutions and that have demoralised them and the economy of our present society that retards their attempts to bring about a change for the better—these are not certainly trivialities to be ignored by any well-wishers of these castes. More or less, all of them—the Moslems, the Lingayats, the Marathas and ourselves, the Jains—are in their own way trying to work out their redemption. But there is no settled plan, no desire for reciprocity in any one of these scattered, straggling movements."

Since this appeal was made for co-ordination and co-operation between the various non-Brahmin communities, much water had flowed under the bridge and by 1917, not only in Kolhapur but outside and in far off nooks and corners of the Deccan, the community of interests between them was strengthened into a strongand consolidated movement. The most tangible form of it in the personal life andthe governing policy of the Maharaja was strikingly manifested in the Satya Shodhak, the compulsory education, the Arya Samaj, the Kshatriya Jagadguru and the Depressed Classes Movements of which I have already presented some idea in the foregoing chapters and in the social legislation which His Highness undertook with the approval of a large section of his people, to which we shall now turn for a moment.

The first important step towards the liberalisation of the marital customs of the Hindu community was the Re-Marriage Registration Law of July 1917 under which the Maharaja provided that the lax system of women of Hindu castes being tempted to presume a re-marriage without adequate publicity and formality being given to it should be replaced by a system of registration which would place such re-marriages

beyond the pale of doubt and suspicion. The forms observed at the re-marriages or Pats, which are extremely usual among the Hindu and Mussalman proletariat, are so meagre and uncertain that they have nothing in common with Hindu marriage ceremonies which ordinarily become sufficiently well-known to admit of easy proof in Courts of Law. But even these marriages have formed issues in Civil and Criminal Courts requiring protracted hearings and trials of a sensational and harassing character. The Hindu widow has indeed a limited interest in her husband's property; but she can enjoy it as well as she likes during her life time—provided her husband was a divided Hindu or owned self-acquired property —and may also pass it on to almost anybody she pleases by resorting to the easy device of adopting a son to her deceased husband. This advantage, given her by her widowhood, has to my own knowledge tempted little girls to be the child-widows of their supposed husbands after they have left the world. If the girl who thus sets up a claim to widowhood accompanied by an interest in property is a widow prior to her alleged re-marriage, it is a difficult task indeed for a Court to decide between the contending batches of partizan witnesses who swear with equal intrepidity and in equal numbers that the re-marriage has and has not taken place. A large amount of litigation has grown up. The absence of a clear and presumably trustworthy evidence of re-marriage has also enabled the reversionary heirs of the husband after his demise to advance a plea of non-marriage between the deceased and the lady who lived with him for years and gave birth to several children. The remedy lies in a provision for marriage registration which would make a major part of such litigation unnecessary. The whole of the sometimes extremely galling differential treatment prescribed by the text-book law-givers of Hindu society is in fact based upon the looseness of the marriage tie among the Sudra classes which include all non-Brahmins in the Deccan. The registration arrangements

made by His Highness were the first necessary step towards the removal of those iniquitous distinctions—for instance the recognition of illegitimate children on a very nearly equal footing with the legitimate among the non-Brahmins. His Highness took a further step by applying the Dwij or Brahmin law of succession to the non-Brahmins.

The Inter-Caste Marriage Law was by far the most important legislative measure of His Highness, and it embodied the ideals of the non-Brahmins in a more unmistakable way than anything else. On its surface, the movement had a separatist, disruptive appearance. Its enemies have depicted it as nothing less than a calamity to the cause of unity among Indians. Its claim for communal representation in the Reform Scheme was condemned by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu as calculated to perpetuate and accentuate differences. It was in reality nothing of the kind. If it insisted on communal rights, it was not because it wanted to attach a permanent value to differences, but because it aimed at reducing the disparity existing between the communities in India which were separated by a wide gulf of differences of many kinds and thereby approximating as far and as soon as possible a homogeneous condition of society. The communal jealousies and antagonisms which mar public life in this country so hopelessly are due in the first instance to the existence of the caste system which ought to disappear, as the Maharaja was never tired of saying, if a solid national life is ever to be built in India. That is however only a distant goal. In the meanwhile nothing can be more fatal to our growing national life than to allow some castes to dominate the rest and thereby fan the burning embers of communal distrust and enmity nto unquenchable flames. The even distribution of political and other power among as many communities as possible, with a sincere attempt to open the doors to that power to all others, is the only alternative to the removal of all communal distinctions which must be accepted by those who desire that the

present distrust and discord should abate and harmony take their place. The non-Brahmins have given the best proof of their desire to see all communities coalesce into one nationhood by supporting the Hindu Marriage Bill of Mr. Patel and the Civil Marriage Bill of Dr. Gour. The reception given to these Bills by the "Nationalist Brahmins" and the 'Communalist' non-Brahmins differs as widely as the two poles and illustrates the paradoxical character of some of our party labels. His Highness was a staunch advocate of communal representation and yet no one spoke and did more than he to break the bonds of communal and caste institutions. His Hindu and Jain Marriage Law, passed in 1918 (February) and amplified in the next year, legalised all inter-caste marriages among Hindus and Jains and removed one great difficulty in the way of social unity being established among them. Laws were also enacted to put divorce among Hindus and Mussalmans on a regular, legal basis and to penalise ill-treatment of women by husbands and their relatives whose cruelty to girl-wives is proverbial in India. I may mention in passing that in the drafting of these liberal enactments and the codification of Hindu Law, he acted in consultation with jurists like Sir Frank Beaman and others whose approval was secured for them.

His Highness began as a conservative and ended as a staunch reformer. When in 1897 he was consulted by a friend about a proposed intermarriage between two princely families, His Highness replied that such intermarriages should begin among poorer but well-born families.

But when after the lapse of a score of years, the Maharaja was called on to advise His Highness the Maharaja Holkar on the question of intermarriages between Marathas and Dhangars to the latter of which caste Holkar belongs, His Highness wrote on January 16, 1920 :—

"I am ever ready to help you ; but the intended inter-dining and intermarriages will require perseverance.

They must be systematic and well-founded. You must be aware that X and Y are not good Marathas. But their attempt was systematic. They did not begin with marriages of their Bhaubands or relatives but married good Maratha girls in their own families . . So if Your Highness gets marriages of this kind in your own royal family, your relatives will meekly follow your example . . . You must try to marry the Princess, your daughter to . . . . . (some Maratha families). If you marry your heir-apparent to the daughter of . . . . . (a Maratha nobleman), the true beginning would be made. The girl may not be available from a big family. Baroda, Gwalior and myself have married from poor families. You must marry your Yuvaraj similarly . . . . . If poor relatives contract such marriages, they will be outcasted. I work among the untouchables and the masses . . Others naturally follow me. The lesson from this is that we must ourselves lead the way in matters of such reform. If you send two of your officers, I shall introduce them to J. K. (the Maratha aristocratic family referred to above as likely to provide a bride for the Yuvaraj of Indore)."

The negotiations undertaken under this wholesome and manful advice advanced some stages when the father of the bride to be was induced to consent to this Dhangar-Maratha marriage subject to approval by His Highness ; but ultimately they fell through owing to reasons which I could not clearly ascertain.* On the occasion of the much criticised marriage of Mr.—of the T.S. with a Brahmin girl in Madras, His Highness sent his felicitations to the bridegroom in these words :— (March 3rd, 1920)

* From a letter in December 1919, it seems that a brother Prince was trying to prevent this union of the Holkars and the race of Shivaji. Perhaps these attempts thwarted the plan. It may here be noted that though the attempts failed at that time, the proposed Dhanagar-Maratha Marriage did take place in February last as intended by His Highness, when the Yuvaraj of Indore was married to the daughter of the Junior Chief of Kagal.

"Marriages between the East and the West are in my opinion most desirable. The wide gulf between the East and the West can never be bridged except by these socialities.

"I am a man of no caste and I will certainly encourage such things. Even now England and India are defying the whole world; but if the East and the West be blended together by blood relation, I can assure you that England and India can do still more."

The conclusion is characteristically humorous. "Please excuse me for being too plain. I think there is a great disparity of age between you both. I don't know with what angle of vision do philosophers view the happiness of marriage When you get children, I do not know how you will feel the pang of separation from them. Even the great sage (Kunva) felt for his adopted daughter Shakuntala. I do not know how a married philosopher would feel for the separation."

This vein of plain speaking humour was usual with th Maharaja and it was at its best when people seemed to take leave of prudential considerations in their zeal for theories. His Highness was once negotiating a marriage nearer home and the bride's father—an educated old Maratha gentleman—wished that his educated daughter should judge the bridegroom from some months' experience. He had travelled in Europe and evidently desired to imitate European custom. His Highness replied :—

"I shall try my best to make the marriage happy. I feel sure I shall do so. But surely you cannot hold me responsible if anything goes wrong after all that. . . . The girl is clever, tactful, wise. By conducting her family life well, it is for her to make her husband, her mother-in-law and her parents happy. . . . . You are responsible for all success or failure. No, you are responsible for failure and I am to have the credit for success . . . . I repeat that the credit of success will be mine, and not the responsibility of a failure.

A child like me feels nervous at the fickleness of an old man; but you are an old man and how can anybody blame you? . . . . I shall do my best. But if you think that a two or three months' courting must precede the marriage, you are quite welcome to do so. But then will not the responsibility be yours? As for myself, I would trust to God and follow the orthodox way."

Orthodox or a reformer, His Highness was always intent upon practical advantages and risky innovation was as foreign to him as blind conservatism.

The non-Brahmin movement, as I have said above, had assumed a political form since 1917. Though His Highness' part in it could as a rule be only indirect, he was helping it on with all his might. In December 1917, after he had his first interview with Mr. Montague, he pleaded for the cause of the Backward Classes thus:—

"In my interview I wanted to touch upon the question in which I have been taking very keen interest, namely, the uplifting of the Backward Classes and especially the untouchables. I think the matter is of joint interest to Indian Princes as well as British Government. I am strongly of opinion that these classes must all be properly represented in the reformed constitution of the Government of India that is under contemplation. In other words, I favour communal representation down to the untouchables and especially for them. Your Excellency already knows what I have been doing for them in my humble way. I have been trying to raise their social and also religious status. You know what a long and tough fight I had to make against the priestly caste in the 'vedokta' controversy. The latter tried to outcaste me and my men both by active and passive resistance. But I had at my back all backward communities and at last I succeeded in bringing them to their knees."

It was also important that the non-Brahmin movement should be well organised and well represented before

the public and the Government. His Highness therefore extended his generosity to every one of the non-Brahmin papers then in existence and helped to bring new ones into existence. The Press is the basis of democratic organisation and His Highness was doing a great service to the non-Brahmin cause by the substantial assistance in money which he offered to the non-Brahmins who entered on journalistic ventures. Without meaning any disparagement of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the various non-Brahmin publicists who received this help, one may rightly say that non-Brahmin journalism in the Deccan owes a deep debt of gratitude to his munificence which rarely failed any one who could offer prospects of some useful work in the cause he had at heart. He had in fact much faith in the power—for good or for evil—which the Press may yield and in addition to these outside spheres of his activity, he had assisted many a non-Brahmin in his own State to enter the profession of journalism. His Highness, it may be noted here, did not confine his assistance only to journalists but extended it to many public workers who were thereby enabled to serve the cause unhampered by financial stress.

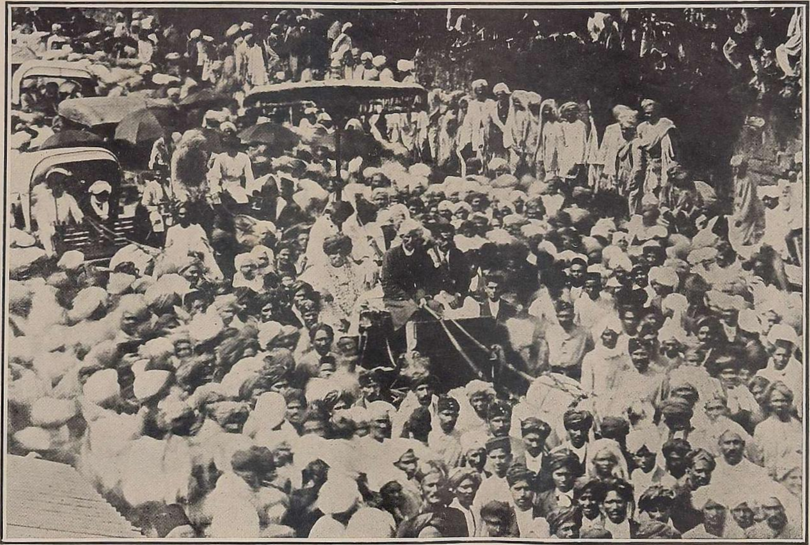
No account ofthe direct and indirect part which His Highness took in the organisation of the non-Brahmin Movement will be complete without a reference to his activities in connection with several conferences and public demonstrations in British India. The Peoples' Union of Bombay was one of the first to enlist his wide sympathies. He presided over two of its most largely attended mass meetings in Bombay in November 1918 (10th and 24th) and infused a part of his enthusiasm into the few, struggling leaders of the cause especially in so far as it concerned the labour population of Bombay City. On the second occasion, he laid down the lines on which the labourers should try to improve their hard lot. "Unity, mutual love, faith and perseverance," he told them, "must be our weapons. I have already told you that in western

countries a struggle between capital and labour is going on. The war has almost thrown the whole political power into the hands of the labour party. Russia and Germany were two great nations with unlimited monarchies. Now, in their place, is being established democratic government under the guidance of labour party. In England also, the labour party is growing powerful. Even neutral countries like Holland will not remain unaffected by this wave. Every person who had reached majority must have the power of voting; that is to say the machinery of the Government must be conducted according to the majority. We too have to acquire this power and must therefore work with self-sacrifice and perseverance.

"You are uneducated and illiterate. You must have the habit to work in an orderly way. Co-operative Credit Socities established in your chawls and factories are proper schools for you to begin with. You should work in that direction . . . Let us follow this general principle and develop it. Then and then alone we shall acquire strength to win our rights.

"As in England, Trades Unions must be established here and all must know their own rights. The capitalist class consists chiefly of Brahmins and Vaishas; and unless they are kept under control, the condition of labourers will hardly improve. The word labourer is not disrespectable. Although I am on the throne of Kolhapur, I feel proud to call myself a soldier, farmer or labourer."

Nor was he oblivious to the need of the intellectual emancipation of the labouring class in Bombay who are prone to look upon superstitious practices of the priesthood as the *deus exmachina* for their uplift. "It is impossible," he said, "for the Kshatriyas and the Shudras to bend their heads before the religious yoke as before, when the principles of democracy are rapidly spreading everywhere." The programme of work he chalked out for them was "social service."



The Procession at Hubli in 1920.

"Efforts will also be made to encourage Co-operative Societies and stores to free them from the clutches of the usurers and bania and thus to train them is self-help and self-government. Active efforts will be made to promote education and temperance. If we succeed, we shall be able to take up sanitary housing in the near future." His Highness was himself too busy with other work to be able to bring his own personal resources to this programme and one has unfortunately to admit that Bombay City has not yet been able to produce on an adequate scale workers who could put forth the requisite energy for carrying out such a noble programme.

The next great conference—the most important of the conferences he attended and over which he presided—was the non-Brahmin Social Conference at Hubli on July 27, 1920. This conference was an adjunct of the political non-Brahmin conference on the two preceding days at the same place under the presidentship of the Grand Old Man of Madras and one of the celebrated twin to whom the marvellous success of the non-Brahmin Movement in Madras is wholly due—Sir P. T. Chettiar. His Highness' taking part in this great gathering on the eve of the first elections to the Reformed Councils was of unique value to the movement as well as to himself. Difficulties of various kinds interposed themselves and could only be removed after many negotiations. His own enthusiasm grew with the difficulties and the success of the two conferences filled him with hope for the future of the great cause upon which he had set his heart. The welcome which he received from the tens of thousands in the Karnatic who crowded the procession moved him deeply. He attended the political conference as a distinguished visitor and, to the knowledge of all, as a sincere sympathiser. He describes his impressions of this visit to a friend in Kolhapur in these words :—

"The Political Conference was very vigorous indeed. The speeches were strong, almost extreme. . . . Even

if you had been here, you would have also attended this Conference . . . . After all I attended it and I feel within me that I did a very good thing. God will protect me. . . . I request you now to release me from the State work and enable me to spend the few years of life that still remain for me in serving the people."

To another friend, Babasaheb Khanvilkar, he wrote on the same day :—

"I have promised . . . . (the person to whom the above was written) that I would not attend the political conference ; but I could not keep it."

This explains the preceding letter better than would otherwise be possible. A few months later, the same friend, Mr. K. G., wrote to His Highness entreating him to desist from further participation in the non-Brahmin Movement which involved him in all sorts of troubles—attacks in the Press, intrigues at Kolhapur, displeasure of men in high position, treachery on the part of his own Brahmin confidants, and the stealthy transfer of valuable documents from the feudatory records to inimical hands. Mr. K. G., always an ease-loving friend, was exerting his influence in favour of indifference to movements which were necessarily of a strong character and which rendered His Highness liable to bitter attacks. His Highness was not, however, a docile and ease-loving animal. "I have delivered no speeches nor have I done anything now against them (the Brahmins). But true to their character, they are taking revenge upon me . . . . May God give success to their Peshwai, Barveshai and Parashuramshai intrigues . . . . I shall abide by your advice ; but I cannot behave in a manner unworthy of a Kshatriya (Warrior). Even if imprisoned, I shall try to use my body for some good purpose. It would be a stain on my character, I think, if I beat a retreat from the battlefield on which I have taken my stand . . . . I will accept your advice but it is impossible to act up to it. What of

Lord XX, even if God Brahma or Death himself threatens me and I quail, my ancestors and the Gods in the Heavens will laugh at me and weep. Success or defeat is nought to me. You cannot change my nature . . . . Like cowards, we shall not desert our ideals. I shall not submit even to save my life. I shall break but not bend. I am not a priest to waste time in counting the beads. You say Government will be displeased. Let it be so, if it will. I shall be troubled, no doubt. But surely I shall have justice from God for assisting the needy, for helping the untouchables and for devoting my energy for uplifting the Marathas. I tell you in the name of my ancestors that I shall never do anything unworthy of the warrior. I shall not throw discredit on my mother. I don't accept your policy."

In this very faith, he concluded his inaugural address in these words :—

" To demand our rights (*i.e.*, the non-Brahmin rights) is a holy work. It is religious because it is imbued with the spirit of mercy. Knowing that God's blessings are surely upon it, let us begin our work zealously. I am prepared to serve you all. The Almighty God will give you complete success very soon."

He described the forces which pushed him into the thick of the battle in a letter to G. L. on 23rd June 1919 thus :—

" Especially since my son's death, I have an irresistible feeling that I should lose no time in taking measures to help the poor classes and I am trying to do so. I am taking every possible measure that I can in my small State. I feel it is a sort of spiritual sentiment that is goading me on and if I but succeed, however partially, I shall consider my life work fulfilled . . . . You can well imagine if I had but tried to curry favour with the articulate classes of whom I may be excused for saying even the Government is afraid, I should have had a very quiet, happy and peaceful life. But my conscience says, if I did so I should fail in my duty. The

pamphlet that I have enclosed herewith will give you an idea of the depth of ignorance and superstition to which the masses have been reduced by the preachings of the Brahmins, and I really consider it a holy work and a sacred duty to the backward classes, nay, to humanity to help them out of the mire. That is also the reason why I have stood out so boldly, strongly, and firmly for communal representation. If it is denied and the new Reforms put power again solely into the hands of the Brahmins, then woe to the backward classes. Heaven alone can help them."

The Hubli Conference brought His Highness into personal touch with the veteran leaders of Madras. He had already met Dr. Nair in Bombay in 1919 and the acquaintance between the two kindred spirits soon developed into personal friendship based on community of nature and principles. His Highness endowed a Memorial Scholarship in the name of Dr. T. M. Nair when he was suddenly cut off from his noble activities later in the year and to-day this token of his admiration for the Madras leader testifies, in that Presidency, to the solid unity of purpose between the two foremost leaders of the same movement in the two sections of the Deccan.

His ardent love for the non-Brahmin work was bound to create for him difficulties which often worried him a great deal. But his enthusiasm was so keen that he never gave up the battle. He had in his mind at one time, just about when he presided over the Hubli Conference, the idea of entering one of the new legislatures as an elected member. As the Hon. Mr. C. wrote to him in June 1920, though 'we should all apreciate the honour of your becoming a member of our new Council, it would not be altogether consistent with Your Highness' position and it might raise awkward constitutional questions.' Obviously too the rules would not allow his candidature. Mr. M. raised the objections to a higher level when he told him that, "after all, it is not

among the dust and heat of politics that the truest and the noblest social service is rendered." It was indeed unnecessary to go into the question as the Electoral Rules made his entry into the arena impossible. The disappointment to him was great in spite of this sane advice which did not fit in with his fighting temperament. The incompatibility of his position as the ruler of a State with much of what he felt almost driven on towards was a patent fact and his sincerest friends, in no way ill-disposed towards the movement itself, had more than once to advise him to eschew the militant portion of the non-Brahmin agitation. It must be admitted that he never liked such restraint, necessary though it was. When the *Kesari* attacked him on the strength of some of his private and confidential letters of which copies had somehow been secured by that paper, his spirit rebelled within him against the restraints which his position imposed. "The *Kesari* (lit: a lion) challenges;" he wrote to a Brahmin friend, "but I am only a cat tied by the neck, prohibited from going beyond my limits, prevented from taking part in any agitation. The lion cannot boast of having defeated a cat like this . . . . . . If the cat had at least been free from the chain on its neck, it would have tried at least to escape the jaws of the mighty king of the forest."

Great as these difficulties were, they became still greater when there were internal quarrels in the party itself, or when some occasion for fresh attack on the Maharaja arose out of some incident or other. The Bombay non-Brahmins, though wanting in many things, were never in want of petty-minded personalities and the first dissension among the ranks in 1919 was over a compromise whereby some of them agreed to 'reserved seats' instead of separate communal electorates. His Highness himself stood by the latter and preferred nominations to reserved seats. "I think," he wrote in April 1920, "nominations could be much better

in the interests of the Marathas, Jains, Lingayats and Mahars who form the backbone of the country than the reservation. Reservation will only mislead people in England as they are not aware of Indian intrigues. A good canvasser would go in a village, join hands with five monsters of the village such as the Kulkarni, Brahmin Sawakars and Joshis (priests), etc., and would get votes willingly or unwillingly for a particular Brahminised Maratha. While in the case of nomination, Government would nominate only such Marathas as are independent and capable of expressing their views freely. I hope I may be allowed to suggest that the polling arrangement should be strictly under European control, even ordinary native and European military men would do well for the work."

Holding this view, he seemed to side with the no-compromise section who captured the Maratha League. The differences began to affect even the common work of the Party and controversies regarding the advisability or otherwise of an alliance with the so-called Liberals—better described as moderate Brahmins of the Deccan. Naturally those who rejected the compromise with the Liberals on the question of representation denounced all such alliance as suicidal while others who had faith in the plighted words of the Brahmin leaders stood by it. Experience, to the regret of all well-wishers of the cause of unity, showed that the 'Liberals' as a class were as untrustworthy as the Brahmins of the other pattern. Messrs. Bannerjee and Sastri, the two Liberals who were parties to the compromise, tricked the Deccan non-Brahmins out of their position and then opposed even the reservation of seats in the Franchise Committee of which they were members. During the days that the non-Brahmins were thus divided on the question, His Highness was trying to bridge the widening gulf by using all his influence in favour of unity, though he never made a secret of his own views about the alliance. "I under-

stand," he wrote to me on August 10, 1920, "that you differ from Mr. K. on certain points. I have great respect for Mr. K. but I cannot wholly agree with his view that we should always work in conjunction with the Brahmins." On September 13, he wrote to Mr. K. to close the ranks at all costs and work in union. "Please do not have a schism at this time. Let us not be laughed at by others." "Already the opposite party," he continued, "is trying to sow dissensions among us. We shall be helping them. You know that our party is still weak. We have to do many things and have not even begun them. If quarrels commence even now, how can we raise a building on such a foundation of sand?" "It pains me most," he wrote to another non-Brahmin worker, "to read the controversy between the *Vijayi Mahratta* and the *Jagaruka*." To Mr. Shinde, the editor of the *Vijayi Mahratta*, also he appealed for peace. "If you are a true Maratha, bear the *Jagaruka's* attacks with patience. But have done with this disunion . . . . . . Go to K. specially and join hands with him." On the 18th, he wrote to both the editors approving of the attitude proposed by me in the *Vijayi Mahratta* in connection with the points at issue and appealing to them to follow it in unison. He wrote to each one that he should adopt that policy whether the other did so or not. A week later, he was in a position to write that the belligerents had accepted the advice and that he hoped to find every one of the non-Brahmin journalists working hand in hand to strengthen the party and fight the common battle.

A fiercer storm, however, was now to follow in another direction. On October 3, the Shivaji Society of Poona held its annual meeting in Bhavani Peth under the Presidentship of His Highness. As we know, he took a deep interest in this Society as he was its permanent President and because the Society was a Memorial to his own great ancestor in a form of great usefulness to the backward classes. Being

a purely educational gathering, there was no cause for offence to anybody in what took place at the meeting. But, as he put it, "a few mischievous Brahmins concocted a plot and made a cat's paw of certain non-Brahmins who pride in calling themselves as members of the National Democratic Party. This party wanted to disperse the meeting under some pretext and they were looking out for one. One reason is that they wanted to take revenge on me as I was an opponent of the late Mr. Tilak and also they wanted to lower me in the eyes of the public and to show that I had neither strength nor a following. If you refer to the *Kesari*, dated 31st August 1920, you will see that it publishes an absolute lie by insinuating that I had to render an apology to the Brahmins. I could at the meeting see that they did not want to touch me in any way though I was quite close to them but they simply wanted to discredit me in the eyes of the public. We were nearly summing up the proceedings of the meeting when one Mr. G. came to me and asked permission to speak for five minutes. I did not know that he was a mischievous man. Some objected to his speech but I thought that it was not proper to prevent him from speaking a few words. He began to oppose the Chhatrapati Maharaja's predominance in religious matters and said it was everybody's birthright to do what he liked and so there should be no regard at all for Shivaji Maharaja. This was not liked by the audience and many called him to sit down and the speaker was going away quietly when one Mr. K. T. J., a creature of the Tilak party, took the opportunity to kick up a row. After this a scuffle ensued and there was disorder."

On the face of it, the scuffle was premeditated and nothing done at the meeting could have been its cause. In its results, it was indeed a trivial matter—"a Ladies' Rugby Football Match where there was no injury at all but simple hustle and bustle and tearing of each other's clothes" as His Highness described it. But this little business was engineered

with two objects. In the first place, the extremist Brahmins in the Deccan, more wrongly than rightly, believed that there would have been no opposition to them and no insults to their late leader Mr. Tilak if it had not been for the organising skill of the Maharaja who, it was supposed, was at the bottom of the whole agitation. They had now seen what the awakened masses would mean to them. Mr. Tilak unable to address a public meeting in Poona where he was howled down in the face of his Brahmin admirers, their conferences deserted by the mob who held counter-demonstration of a huge character, the Maharaja honoured and applauded by thousand of non-Brahmins at Hubli and other places, what a sorry spectacle all this for the presiding deities of Maharashtra in the Peshwa's capital! The remedy lay in a blow to be inflicted on the Maharaja who was pulling the wires of the movement. A public affront to him in a meeting of his own community and at the hands of their own protegees of the Maratha caste would indeed be an ideal blow to his prestige. In the second place, such a row could not but bring the Government down upon him and prohibit his future activities in British India, especially his presiding over the deliberations of a conference at Baramati in the Poona District which had then been announced to be held a few weeks later. To make sure that this row did not miss its double purpose, a complaint was lodged against the Maharaja and some others for rioting, hurt, etc., and the extremist papers charged the promoters of the meeting with exciting speeches. His Highness' friends had no alternative but to advise him to abstain for the time being from appearing on public platforms where anything savouring of politics was likely to be discussed and, as Baramati was a place where political feeling was running high, it was urged that it was not wise on his part to expose himself to insults and annoyance by going there. "I am accepting your advice," replied His Highness to the friend who wrote this private letter,

"with resignation befitting a saint. This will ease the minds of members of my family and my friends who are imploring me not to expose myself." The assumptions on which this kind of advice was given to him were not however based on facts. At the Bhavani Peth meeting, no political or any other inciting speech had been delivered by His Highness or by any other speakers. If any of the speeches could be accused of a provocative character, they were made by intruders who, whatever their views may have been and whether they were right or wrong, ought not to have attacked the hero whose memory was sacred to most members of the meeting on a side issue which the meeting was not called upon to discuss or decide. Nor was the Baramati meeting going to be a political one. The right course would have been to punish those who were really guilty of rowdyism, particularly those who had started it and to continue the propaganda without let or hindrance, if that were possible and safe from political considerations. As it was, the Government may not have liked to take even a right plenary action on behalf of a Prince for fear of being accused of partiality for one who was openly opposing anti-Government movements. It is also possible that a few hot-headed partizans of the non-Brahmin cause may have been partially responsible for the row which was admittedly provoked by their opponents and therefore likely, to have been, even if on a sudden and grave provocation initiated by themselves. "Some irresponsible men," His Highness himself wrote to one of the organisers of the Baramati Conference on October 10, "create a row of some set purpose and every one has to share the blame. I do not therefore intend to preside over the Conference until the atmosphere clears up."

The criminal complaint lodged by a tool of the extremist party against the Maharaja raised a distinct issue of some constitutional importance. Admittedly sovereigns of foreign States are held not to be amenable to the jurisdiction of ordinary criminal courts in all civilised countries and the same

principle of international law holds good in British India. But the application of the principle to the case of an Indian Prince clearly depends on what view one takes of the claims of our Princes to the status of sovereign powers. Even what are sometimes described as quasi-sovereignties by constitutional writers are accorded the same immunity from criminal jurisdiction of courts. In the case of Kolhapur, the question is even less difficult to answer. For the various Treaties and Agreements which determine the relations of this State with the British Government consistently admit that the conditions and limitations agreed to by the State on its powers do not affect the sovereignty of the Maharajas of Kolhapur generally and no Court in British India could therefore treat them as any others than sovereign rulers of a foreign State. The Court took this view and dismissed the complaint against the Maharaja on this very ground. The issue was in truth simple and clear: but tacticians on both sides were busy raising plentiful dust to cloud the sky until the Court cleared the air by its decision. One of these shrewd attempts was to frighten His Highness into a compromise with no less a man than a petty tool in the hands of the Poona extremists. "He is willing to withdraw the complaint," wrote the 'educated old Maratha gentleman' whom I have mentioned once befoie in this chapter, a man who changed quicker than the clouds, on October 21, "provided Your Highness is graciously pleased to assure him that you will not support the members of the (Maratha) League and Satya Shodhak Samaj. Your Highness does not support the Satya Shodhak Samaj. At least such is my impression. At any rate Your Highness can take a neutral position and thus bring all the Marathas together. Your Highness is the natural leader of the Marathas. All should look up to you for guidance. The position that is created is unnatural. It is likely to cause you unnecessary worry. I doubt whether you should get yourself entangled and that for no good.

If you would kindly wire to me to-morrow that you will give a necessary assurance, the case will be withdrawn and till your Highness' arrival, a postponement will be asked for. I leave Your Highness to decide what you think best. The proposal of K. is fair and it will avoid many complications."

The meaning was as clear as daylight. But that a man of the writer's position should have written it or that a writer like this could pass for a great Maratha leader for years is to me astonishing. That the proposal should have emanated from the opponents is natural enough. They were playing the whole game for no other purpose than to wean the Chhatrapati from the course he had been following all his life. His Highness knew it full well. But the wonder is that simpletons are found among people from whose education and experience one expects something reasonable who could calmly advise the Maharaja to give up his lifelong principles for fear of a puerile and untenable complaint lodged by a very, very small man indeed. His Highness had ample patience to give the advisor a crushing though restrained reply which ran thus:—

"I am not a Satya Shodhak. Nor am I connected with the League. This is true, but if you tell me to-morrow to give up my friendship with Mr. P. C. Patil or Mr. Shripatrao Shinde whom I have brought up like children, or that I should abandon my wife because (her brother) Babasaheb Khanvilkar is Satya a Shodhak or that I should forget my fraternal relationship with Bapusaheb, his wife and brother-in-law (the Parmekars) as they are Satya Samajists, what shall I do? . . . . . . Though I am a slave of the Marathas, I am not prepared to change my opinions. I am not ready to give up my ideal. I shall listen to you, nay, even to the meanest Maratha . . . . So I am not going to be insolent towards any Maratha. I am their slave. I am now with a complaint on my head and am in difficulties, very stupendous difficulties and therefore in all humility I request that

you should tell me to do anything to elevate the Marathas after consulting your M. G., etc. Any progressive Maratha may demand any service from me. I am not puffed up to-day because the complaint has been dismissed. But I am ready to obey any order which you all will give me consistently with my traditions and character." In another letter of the same day, he wrote :—"You know I never take beef or wines. But there are some Princes, and gentlemen too,"—does His Highness refer to the addressee himself?—"who do this and deny having done so. But I shall always say that I do a thing when in fact I do it. I shall never give up friendly and allied communities . . . . I am made to suffer for plain speaking and I am ready to suffer for it. I shall obey you but don't tell me to forsake my principles. I shall not go against my ideals . . . . I know full well that all this is intended to frighten me. But I shall never be frightened . . . . The charge of having stopped the oblations to the Pandharpur Shrine brought against me is false. I have maintained the offerings as before. But instead of their being used to feed the idle and lazy fellows, I have arranged to utilize them for encouraging learning. That is the offerings are to go to feed students and if the priests of the temple object to their removal, the oblations are to be offered beyond their limits and then utilised by the students."

A few days later, on November 9, the same gentleman wrote to His Highness as follows :—

"I must confess that though a Maratha, I was not fully aware of the strained relations between the Marathas and the allied castes and the Brahmins. It was difficult for me to realise that the so-called leaders of the Brahmins would descend so low in their tactics. This only shows that they are wanting in essential qualities of gentlemanliness . . . . . .

"I have made a long tour and addressed a few meetings which were very largely attended by the Marathas and others including Brahmins.

"It was an agreeable surprise to me to notice that the masses have been very much affected by what took place at the Poona Meeting.

"My object, as I said already, was to advise the people against non-co-operation. Your Highness should not be a little surprised to learn that the ferment of non-co-operation has gone deep down in the masses; and it was therefore not easy to persuade them to go against their present temper. My task became fairly easy, however, by the grace of God, when I told them that Your Highness was not in favour of non-co-operation. The traditional respect Your Highness' illustrious House has in the minds of masses is simply astounding; and this respect has become the more pronounced since your visit to Khamgaon.

* * * *

"Till the Poona affair I thought as you well know that we should take Brahmins with us. I am now convinced after three weeks' stay in Poona that the Brahmins are an incorrigible lot. After all, it seems the line of policy you had so long followed is correct; I do not, however, give you much credit for this as you live in the midst of the Maharashtra while I in Gujarat.

"I am convinced that the Marathas and others should work independently of the Brahmins not on the principles of hatred—the principle of hatred I abhor—but purely for the sake of making the masses independent, that is, to make them stand on their own legs and to make them learn the principles of self-help."

The introduction of Reforms in January 1921, was the close of the first Chapter in the history of the Non-Brahmin movement. The ground work was now ready. Non-Brahmins had secured some adavantages in the new constitution for which much credit was due to His Highness' untiring efforts in their behalf. The elections at the end of 1920 opened the doors of the new Council in Bombay to some of

his friends and humbler colleagues of the Party. Greater work, however, still remained, the work of using the opportunity to the best advantage of the Party and its noble cause. But Providence willed that he should not be spared long to help in the construction of the building designed to stand on this basis. The year and a half that remained he had to wait to see how the Party which he had done so much to place on strong foundations worked in the arena to which it was now called by the elections. He therefore turned to his own spade work in Kolhapur. The Prince Shivaji Hostel was started in Kolhapur in July 1920 to commemorate his late younger son and supplement the work of the Victoria Maratha Boarding House in affording facilities and popularising English education among the Marathas. This institution had the special merit of being a spontaneous growth on the soil prepared by the earlier Hostel whose alumni had now resolved to propagate the advantages they had received to many more of the future generations. Fully realising the value of such natural and voluntary efforts, His Highness offered his welcome help to it in the shape of a spacious House called Koti Shala, maintenance for ten students and other substantial grants including one of Rs. 7,000 towards its permanent fund. The New Hostel was soon in a position to accommodate some fifty poor Maratha students of the secondary schools on the strength partly of the Maharaja's generosity and partly on the humbler but nevertheless highly creditable contributions from the Maratha and also other sympathetic gentlemen of Kolhapur.

The Deval Club of Kolhapur, originally an institution for the encouragement of music, was developed into a permanent Club in memory of the popular Marathi poet and dramatist, Mr. G. B. Deval, who had long been one of the many Brahmin friends of the Maharaja who gave the Club a permanent and well-built house in April 1921. Its inclusion in an account of His Highness' Non-Brahmin activities

would at first sight look paradoxical, for the poet whom it commemorates and the persons who run the Club are themselves Brahmins. Mr. G. B. Deval was—and this is my justification—one of the few who rose above caste and were free from the Brahmin prejudices. His Highness however gave another explanation of this. When asked why he had been so liberal to the Brahmin clique which controlled the Club, he replied that the patronage given to the Club was a poultice intended to ripen the Brahminical abcess in the body politic. 'Without such a Club' he said 'the pus could spread out in the body and poison the blood. My patronage to such a club collects the pus at one point and that is best for the Non-Brahmin cause. Is it not?' The querist was certainly nonplussed and had heartily to laugh away his own discomfiture.

The Boy Scout Movement was one of the last beneficent movements to attract His Highness' attention. In September 1921, he deputed Mr. Vinayakrao Ghorpade, a near relation of the Jahagirdhar of Ichalkaranji, to England to study the Scout system in its home and provided him with the necessary expenses. He was not himself destined to see the seed he had thus sown sprout on the surface. But when his distinguished son requested His Excellency Sir George Lloyd on March 29 of 1923 to open the Scouts Camp in Kolhapur, His Highness Shri Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaja ascribed the origin of this movement in his capital 'like all good things in the State' to 'His late Highness, my beloved father.' 'He knew full well,' 'said his son' what good was being done wherever the Scout movement flourished and took early steps to prepare for its introduction in the Kolhapur State, when in full swing, His Highness must have expected it to soften if not entirely to eliminate the unavoidable angularities and frictions of the Non-Brahmin agitation whose temporary bitterness is bound in time to give place to a fuller, higher, stronger and more harmonious public life.

A brief reference to some more unpleasant incidents arising out of the acrimonious controversies which sprang from His Highness' connection with the Movement cannot be avoided here. The enemy's discomfiture in the Bhavani Peth case drove his party to desperation and the Maharaja was threatened with some self-sought fracas with him while he was in British India so that he could be dragged into a more annoying criminal prosecution leading, at any rate as they expected, to his being prevented from moving about in British India. The plot seems to have died a silent death or was perhaps only a still-born child of its progenitors. The publication of His Highness' private notes on certain controversies then raging in India—non-co-operation, passive resistance, Government's attitude towards such movements and so forth—in the columns of a Bombay nationalist daily added much to his worries. There was not much in those notes which he had not said before in Public. But the tone of private notes circulated confidentially among personal friends is not suited to a public utterance from a person in His Highness' peculiarly delicate position as the ruler of an allied Indian State. A copy of the Notes was stolen like the one of his Letters published by another paper in Poona soon after and inserted under sensational headlines in the prominent columns of the daily press. This was not all. "The mean tricks of my opponents are beyond imagination. A few days back my legal Adviser was robbed of his trunk on the Poona Station. A man in ticket collector's dress openly came and removed the trunk in the presence of fellow passengers. Fortunately no important papers were lost." More important than the theft of notes whose worst use was undue publication in the Press or the attempted extraction of confidential documents from the trunk of a State servant, some of his State Records were found to have been tampered with by Brahmin officers who had managed to enjoy his confidence for some years past. A ruler actively engaged in

a militant non-Brahmin movement, and what was more, a ruler who was involved in extremely important constitutional struggles with his Brahmin Jahagirdars who were bent upon making huge inroads on his suzerain powers, such a ruler placing his full confidence in astute—I shall not use any worse terms—Brahmin Officials was like playing with fire. But this was one of His Highness' somewhat riskful enterprises, happily not too numerous, which brought on quick mishaps. 'I don't mind so much my private letters', he said, 'but most important State documents regarding Jahagirs, etc., have been stolen'. Searches, attachments and investigations in various directions had consequently to be undertaken. A Brahmin prisoner convicted years ago on grave political charges escaped from the Kolhapur Jail about the same time and it was feared that he has sworn to take vengeance upon the Maharaja for having got him convicted. His Highness had to ask Government for the loan of some non-Brahmin officers to ferret out the culprits and the miscreants. But in spite of all that he or the lent Officers could do, the criminals remained undetected and unpunished. A future history of Kolhapur may be able, let us hope, to throw more light on these offences after they are detected and brought to book.

The reactions of the Maharaja's non-Brahmin policy were seen in almost every one of his affairs. The old litigation going on in the Madras Courts over the large property of the Tanjore Branch of the Chhatrapati family had to be shared at great cost by the Kolhapur Darbar and so far the only advantage that all this expenditure had brought to the State was a decision from the Subordinate Judge that the Bhosales were subject to the Sudra law of inheritance whereby, unlike among the Brahmins of the Deccan, illegitimacy is nearly placed on a footing of equality with marriage. His Highness paid a visit to Madras in January 1921 as a guest of his friend Lord Willingdon, now the Governor of Madras,

and what he found there is thus explained by him in a letter of 9th of that month :—

"The case was in the hands of my Brahmin officers and the consequence was that a Brahmin pleader knowing that he was likely to be appointed to a high post was paid about thirty-five thousand rupees. He has now been raised to that post and is not returning my money. I find that the Brahmin pleaders here are neither influential nor clever enough. The feelings between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins here is very high, much more high than in our Presidency. The Brahmin papers here have much vilified me and considered me to be a leader of the non-Brahmins and have taken up the cause of my opposite party in the Tanjore Case and have neither worked industriously nor sincerely. So I am thinking of entrusting my case to some other pleader who would look better to my interest. I have spent lakhs of rupees over it. I have no confidence in the Brahmin pleaders as they have not properly conducted my case so long."

While we are considering in some details His Highness' connection with the political aspects of the non-Brahmin movement in British India, one may pertinently ask what he did to reach the admitted and obvious goal in his own State and so far as it concerned his own subjects. His critics often suggested that he was wholly opposed to the idea of Swarajya. This interpretation of his views was not correct. He explained his own views on his particular point in the great speech he delivered at Nasik on April 15, 1920. The Honourable the Raja of Panagal, since then the first Minister of Madras, described it as an "epoch-making speech." "The speech touches" he wrote on April 28, "the right chord in the right time. Its value, therefore, cannot be overestimated. I am getting it reprinted from the columns of *Justice* for circulation among my friends in England, some of whom happen to be members of Parliamentary Joint Committee to consider the Rules in connection with the Government

Act of 1919. I am also translating the speech into Telugu for publication, so that even the Telugu-knowing non-Brahmins may have access to its inspiring contents. I have no doubt the speech, coming as it does, from an enlightened Prince, cannot fail to bring about a revolution in public opinion." In this deservedly eulogised speech, His Highness answered his critics thus :—

"Another accusation levelled against me by some newspapers is that I am absolutely against giving self-government to my subjects. This is again a pure myth. In the speech on which this accusation is based, I said, 'But if I may be allowed to express an opinion at this stage, I would only say that I for one would hesitate to make any constitutional changes in the direction of the Reforms until the general level of education among the masses has risen and is at least partially equalised with that of the higher classes.' This does not lend any support to the accusation that I am opposed to giving self-government to my people. What I said was that I could not look up on the devolution of political power as safe before the voters of all the castes were educated enough to understand their civil rights."

The plan of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms was to extend partial responsibility to the voters as a process of experimentation as well as training. "I am afraid" said the Maharaja "such a diarchical system of government will be ill-suited to the conditions peculiar to the Native States." In British India, power would be divided between two sides while in the States, if diarchy is adopted, it has got to be divided between three sides the people, the Chief and the British Government whose responsibility in this respect is unquestionable as long as the Treaties exist. It is only when the Ruler feels assured that his people will take over the responsibility to the British Government on themselves without any risk of injury to the State itself that he can safely entrust authority to his people and be merely its guide. "When

the son is grown up," he said, "to take charge of the household it is our old Aryan rule of life that the father should retire. In consonance with this ancient rule, I mean to retire on pension when my subjects have grown fit to take care of themselves. I am hopeful that this consummation, which I devoutly wish for, will be realised before too long."

Mass education, reduction of the differences in higher education between the Brahmins and the Backward and the Depressed Classes and the cultivation of a spirit of broad toleration among our various communities if not a total destruction of the caste-barriers—these are the true and indispensable conditions of a really stable democracy coming into existence in this country. Gifts of democratic forms of government may be made or withheld at the will of the British Parliament whose decision may depend on a variety of circumstances such as the prevailing sentiment of the British nation or the stress of foreign public opinion which after the war has become more potent than ever before. That is, however, not the growth of democracy in India. If democracy is an ideal governing human life as a whole and not, as some of us would suppose, a mere political mechanism without a soul in it and if we desire it to be a force which will contribute to the happiness of our country as a whole and not of the more advanced classes of the people only, the conditions laid down by His Highness were perfectly reasonable conditions which must be fulfilled. I admit without hesitation that adventitious circumstances in British India change the view-point from what may be a right view in an Indian State. I admit also that a form of democracy super-imposed on a caste-ridden society will tend to democratise society as much as the caste system is likely to make it an oligarchy in effect, though clothed in other forms. I admit again that an advance towards democracy need not await for a full social reconstruction and the natural development must proceed simultaneously, the one acting upon and itself influenced by the other.

With all these considerations in view, His Highness consulted a friend in Mysore so long back as the very first year of his reign as to how the Representative Assembly was working there. The only conclusion he reached in this enquiry could be and was that this experiment in Mysore as in many other States which copied it later on in one form or another was more a show than a reality. His own subsequent experience in Kolhapur induced him to take action in an opposite direction by suspending the Municipality in his capital. In 1919, His Highness restored that body to an almost wholly elective constitution elected, however, on a wholly communal basis. The rural areas of the State were not at the same time forgotten. Some of his most violently criticised measures like the abolition of the Kulkarni system and the reduction of the number of other Watandars by various means were calculated to democratise the village organisation. In the first Kulkarni order published in the *State Gazette* of March 2, 1918, His Highness laid down the revival of village punchayats on a democratic basis as the reason for the abolition of the Kulkarni service. In July punchayats were ordered to be established at Uchagao, Kalamba, Rukadi, Chikhali and Bawada as an experiment. Small criminal and civil matters, sanitation, water-schemes, education, etc., were transferred to punchayats. The extension of this excellent system remains to be undertaken by the Darbar as soon as the spread of primary education justifies it. This must be the fitting sequence to the system of compulsory education in Kolhapur and the numerous other liberalising activities which have already transformed that State into a living centre of democratic ideas seeking vent and expression in various ways.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The End.

The neglect of health—To what was it due—His failing health since 1919—His comfort in finding the Yuvaraj making good progress—Health in 1922—The trip to Baroda—The end—The successor proclaimed—The obsequies—An estimate of his work—His simplicity—His magnanimity—The paradox of his nature—His chief ambitions—And difficulties—His success.

THOSE who had seen the giant figure of His Highness and known what splendid energy and vitality he possessed for many a year had never thought that he would succumb so soon as at the age of forty-eight. The confidence of his friends, and of himself too, in his health and strength was in many ways fully justified. But in this very self-confidence lay concealed the seeds of the danger which was threatening his life for some years past. The hereditary tendency to corpulence exhibited by him in early days had undermined the healthfulness of his life. His irregularities and even the defiance of nature's laws as explained to him by the Doctors to which he was often tempted introduced into his excellent physique the germs of those diseases which carried him away at so early an age. These irregularities and this tendency to belittle the warnings he received from his friends and medical advisors did not tell for some years, and with the same innate unwillingness to be trammelled by rules and regulations which characterised his masterful—sometimes over-masterful—spirit, he went his own way despite the advice of physicians and friends. It is clear that at any rate since 1910 or so, he was aware of the serious diseases like diabetes and degeneration of the heart which were making inroads upon his health. Rest and sojourn in Europe for a course of baths and the like were prescribed. But he was so absorbed in his work at Kolhapur

and he was so much given to it that nothing, not even the coming dangers, could persuade him to withdraw even temporarily from the work he had undertaken. His nature could not allow him respite from work which he had made up his mind to do. There are some men who live for work and others—a very large majority—for whom work exists if they choose to do it. His Highness unquestionably belonged to the first category. Julius Cæser, a few moments before being stabbed, said that he preferred a death without notice. A few hours before passing away, Ranade told one of his friends that the best death is the death of a man dying in harness. His Highness' love for the work on hand was so overpowering that, even if he had wishedto be away from it, he could not have done so. It was in incessant and intense energising that he found his rest and peace. As in Shikaring he would wander about for hours and hours defying the elements of nature and the laws of human health, intent only on achieving his purpose, in other spheres of life as well would he throw all his energy and all his heart into the work he chose for himself and would not bend to anything, any dangers, any risks that beset his path. His greatness, and, I may add, even his weakness, lay in this trait of his character. Genius is sometimes defined as an infinite capacity for work. Others emphasize another aspect of genius when they say that it consists in some peculiar aberration of the mind. Both definitions are essentially based on the same essential characteristics of human greatness. As the slave of nature's laws and the laws of society, man can live happily and in peace, doing little good and less injury to others, the type of the common run of amiable humanity. Genius exhibits itself always in a capacity to deviate from this beaten track of human life. The deviation may be on one side or another. It may degenerate into a pestilential attack on the established laws of morals or the not wholly balanced course of intellectual activity. It may sometimes rise to great moral and intellectual heights unscaled and unscalable by

frail humanity. In any case, genius is a departure from the routine, humdrum life—the life which excites no admiration, contribute nothing extraordinary to the sum total of human happiness, but is all the same the allotted portion of a happy life. Genius is always a volcanic irruption, pulling down mountains or submerging continents as well as creating fertile islands and cutting fertilising channels for the flow of new currents of human happiness.

It is considerations like this which apply to the life of His Highness and explain its manifold, far-reaching and all penetrating activities. In this also lay the impossibility of his taking rest and treatment when both were demanded by his body but none could be taken at the cost of the all-absorbing interests of his life. The world knows of Indian Princes who have tried and succeeded in prolonging life in spite of grave organic troubles by leaving the problems of their States to others and by spending their years in foreign lands far away from their hearths and homes. His Highness might have lived longer—a hundred years' span of life would not have been too much to expect for him—by pursuing a similar course. His nature would not allow this comfortable but unmanly course. The Doctors told him that he must take rest. But the innermost cravings of his heart refused to hear those words. Neither in body nor in mind was he capable of rest, in the sense of cessation of work, though of course he felt delight in intense activity which was his real diversion. He wrote sometimes of his being an idler wasting himself in Shikaring. He was often seen driving about in his capital or in Poona or in Bombay in an almost listless fashion, looking here and there vacantly and his movements hither and thither inexplicable to an ordinary onlooker. A Gujarathi friend of mine once told me that in Bombay people usually looked upon him as a lazy and eccentric Raja with nothing but his whims to guide him. Nothing was farther from the truth. His aimless outing was as deliberate and as purpose-

ful as anything couid be. He set about his carriage or car overcrowded with all sorts of people, his driver, or his attendants when he was himself driving, completely in the dark as to the destination of the Maharaja, the tank filled with petrol to its utmost capacity. The driver was told almost every minute to turn to the left and to the right or stop or move slowly or move fast, everybody wondering all the time what all that meant. But his apparent empty-mindedness was the calm on the surface of a deep sea of thoughts which is full of currents, undercurrents, cross currents and sometimes furious storms. At the same time, his listless eyes caught the smallest things far and near and his ears heard many things which few suspected him of hearing. He would again be talking with a number of different kinds of people in his car or carriage on all sorts of unconnected topics one after another, leaving one thread and taking up another but resuming the last thread a little later just at the point he had left it before but this time with a new turn given to it after the intervening cogitation within himself. His memory was wonderful and his mind capable of application to many subjects at one time. The thread of his nets extended in all directions, to the distant past and the equally distant future. In the diversity of his interests and actions, in the contrarieties of his nature and the inconsistencies of his measures, there was one complete urity, one common aim, and one concentrated purposefulness. A mind like this could not disentangle itself from its activities even for considerations which would have been decisive for most other men. This led to his neglecting the advice which all his doctors and friends were for years giving him. Since 1919 he knew that he had not a long life before him. The heart trouble which ultimately proved fatal was growing serious and his body was giving way in all directions. His spirit and his interest, however, remained unconquered and indomitable. In January 1919, he wrote from Delhi :—

"For the last few days I am feeling a sudden change in my health. My teeth have become shaky and I had to get one tooth extracted. I have had pain also in my ear and my eye-sight also seems injured. My doctors are of opinion that this is all due to the nervous shock caused by my son's death."

In July, he was again ill and went to Raibag for what he called rest. Colonel Harold wrote to him on 26th of that month :—

"I am sorry to learn you are not well, but I hope you are now feeling better after the rest at Raibag though it is a very short rest",—if at all it was a rest, I may add.

In November of the same year, he wrote to Sir George Lowndes :

"While at Delhi I had a boil and I got it opened by the Civil Surgeon there. Unfortunately, immediately after my arrival here, I had to undergo another operation as I had a boil again which was the beginning of a sort of carbuncle. Now I am under the treatment of Dr. Vail at Miraj and it will be a couple of weeks before I can move about, though I am feeling a little better.'

The 'little better' was really not much better. One complaint succeeded another and the whole system was getting weak. But he was still defying the secret enemies in his body. One striking illustration of this is recorded by himself. With some fever on his person, he was going up in an airship and he was advised not to go. This is what he did, and thought, wisely in March 1920 :—

"I had been in the Airship for a couple of hours and went all over Bombay. I went in the Airship with a hundred and point five temperature and heavy cold. Drs. Kalyandas and Rele were my doctors who asked me not to go out of the house. I sneaked away from Diwansaheb, and got in the Airship and returned with normal temperature. I am going straight off to Shedbal to recoup what I have lost. You try please. They charge you only 52 rupees."

In this particular case, he proved, at least in his own opinion, wiser than the doctors. But this readiness to ignore the medical advice was becoming habitual except when it was absolutely impossible to do so. A year later, we find him (on March 4, 1921) complaining that his "Uric Acid went very high and I had pain over all my body." "I feel" he continues "that it is high time that I should hand over the administration to my son . . . . . . and get rid of all this bother." Colonel Merewether assured him in reply that this illness would soon pass off and he should not be anxious about it. Indeed his one great consolation was that he had in his son a person who could look after his affairs with confidence. "My son is now helping me" he wrote to Sir S. M. Fraser in September 1919, "he is put in charge of some Departments solely and is also studying the details of other Departments with the help of the Diwan."

On January 7, 1922, he is at Miraj and writes to Colonel Merewether :—

"I came here this afternoon in order to consult Dr. Wanless. I have been fasting for the last three days but Dr. Wanless has advised me to break my fast. I am feeling a sort of ant-bite sensation all over my body. The doctor suspects blood poisoning and has advised complete rest. The climate here is very dry and quite agrees with my health. In short I hope to enjoy a quiet week end here."

Practically the whole of the time in 1922 till his death on May 6th, His Highness was feeling unwell. On March 21, he writes to his chief medical adviser, Dr. Wanless :—

"I have been swallowing the pills which you prescribed all these days. But the sugar has not decreased and so I have stopped taking them. But there is no increase in the sugar. I am unavoidably detained here for a couple of days."

He was still suffering from his complaints and in April when he was about to undertake a journey to Baroda with its hot climate and the necessary worry consequent on his

taking a large part in the coming ceremonies there, the doctors and his friends including Colonel Merewether, the Resident, advised him to desist from going. But the circumstances of the moment appealed to his sense of duty and he refused to beguided by considerations of prudence as against a call to duty. The marriage of Princess Laxmi Devi, the grand-daughter of His Highness the Gaikwad, with His Highness the Rajasaheb of Savantwadi was practically negotiated and settled by His Highness himself. He stood to the Princess in the relation of a brother and her mother—the only parent then living owing to the death of Yuvaraj Fatesinhrao some years earlier—had told him on her death-bed that he should not forget her children that were about to become orphans. The grand-father, the Maharaja Gaikad, left for Europe on the eve of the marriage leaving instructions for the ceremony. According to Hindu ideas, this was not the right course to adopt, though it is quite possible that the Gaikwad may have valid reasons for doing so. His Highness had great affection for the children of late Fatesinhrao and remembering as he did the promise he had made to Shri Padmavati Ranisaheb on her death-bed, nothing could prevail upon him to drop the idea of going to Baroda. He wrote on April 22, to the Resident, Colonel Merewether :—

"Besides at the request of the mother of Laxmi Devi, as I have promised her at her death-bed to be present at her daughter's marriage ceremony, I have no other alternative but to proceed to Baroda and attend the marriage ceremony of Laxmi Devi. The Rajasaheb also has pressed me very much for going to Baroda."

He left Bombay for Baroda on 27th April. The coming misfortune cast its shadows behind. "Last night," he wrote on 28th from Baroda, "I met with a strange accident and that too when it was only ten minutes to leave the Colaba Station with Babasaheb Khanvilkar, when all of a sudden a hackney victoria horse dashed against our motor and the

horse actually jumped on the footboard, the pole striking against Babasaheb Khanvilkar's chin. Babasaheb Khanvilkar is hurt but not much. The horse's head struck against mine. I am glad, however, to inform you that we escaped so easily, in fact we would not have been otherwise able to proceed to Baroda. All is well that ends well."

But it was not going to end well. All the time, His Highness was feeling unwell and off and on he had pain in his chest. The affairs at Baroda entailed heavy exertions and considerable mental worry, into the causes of which we need not go. As was his wont, he thought he would feel better if he were to indulge in a Cheeta hunt of which, as we have seen, he had grown very fond for some years past. The principal part of the marriage ceremony having taken place on the 30th, His Highness went to see the elephant fight for which Baroda is famous. He was standing with two others on a platform in the centre of the arena when a mad elephant advanced to attack the platform. The first time, his companions got frightened and asked him to withdraw. But His Highness refused to do so. The furious animal charged again and its long trunk was very near the intrepid Maharaja when the trainers attacked it with spears and the elephant had to turn back from the platform. His Highness gave a thousand rupees to the men who had thus saved him from a very dangerous position. On 2nd April he wrote to Mr. MacGregor, the Political Agent of the bridegroom's State, that he was going to take some of the Baroda guests with him for a Cheeta hunt to Dabka, a place 20 miles away from Baroda. The trouble grew acute with all this fatigue. The Doctors at Baroda advised rest. On the 3rd, he felt a little easier and, therefore, left the place the same night reaching Bombay on the 4th morning. He was still hale and hearty as usual. Prior to leaving Baroda, he wrote to Captain King (on April 3rd) :—

"I am leaving my Cheetas here for Princess Tarabai Maharaj and Prince Pratabsingh. You take them to Dabka.

The Cheetas are well trained animals and can be carried in a motor. I am sure you will be able to hunt half a dozen bucks in about two hours time. I had been myself to Dabka and had fine sport. There is a beautiful place to rest in the middle of the day. I am sure you will enjoy the hunt extremely."

During the night journey in the train, he had little sleep and grew worse with pain in the heart. Dr. Shirgaokar and Dr. Deshmukh, two eminent physicians of Bombay, were called in. Dr. Tucker, a specialist in heart diseases, was also consulted. Every one agreed on the 5th, if not even earlier, that the disease was assuming a serious aspect. Shrimant Bapusaheb, Meherban Appasaheb Kagalkar, Meherban Babasaheb Khanvilkar and Her Highness Indumati Ranisaheb, the Maharaja's widowed daughter-in-law, were by his side. Rao Bahadur Sabnis was also wired for; but before he could catch the train for Bombay, the sad news of His Highness having passed away in Bombay at 5-45 a.m. on Sunday the 6th morning was telegraphed to Kolhapur and sent that city and the State into deep mourning.

His Highness was fully conscious to the last moment of his life. But the shooting pain in his heart was extremely excruciating and made him restless. The whole night was spent in anxious thoughts and sufferings. A little before 6 in the morning, he sat up a moment. "I am ready to go. I have no fears. Goodbye to all," he said and as he lay down he breathed his last.

The sad news was telegraphed to Kolhapur where it reached about noon. In the darkness of the sorrow which spread about in the State, the only thought was to have a last glimpse of the great man with whom the fortunes of the State had been so long cast and to render to his remains the last honours which were their due. The body was carried to Kolhapur *via* Poona and Satara where thousands gathered on the roadside to show their respect to him. Kolhapur was reached at about midnight and his illustrious son and successor

had to perform the painful duty of announcing his own accession to the ancient throne of the Chhatrapatis hitherto occupied by his beloved father whose body was now laid on it for the last time. Amidst heart-rending scenes, the Yuvaraj was proclaimed the Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur and the huge concourse of people who welcomed their new Ruler proceeded with heavy hearts to perform the last ceremonies pertaining to the body of the late Chhatrapati. It was carried on a long and solemn procession, with all the honours due to the position of the dead, to the sanctified crematory of the Royal House of Kolhapur and the Maharatta students of the Shivaji Vedic school were called upon for the first time in the history of the Mahratta community to officiate as the priests of the Chhatrapatis in place of the Brahmins on an occasion of this nature. Superstitions cling the hardest to sorrow-stricken minds and an innovation becomes unthinkable to them. The young Maharaja and his widowed mother were called on to decide under the crushing weight of the sorrow which had befallen them whether they were to choose to stick to traditions and call the Brahmins or prove true to the vow which the dead had himself made them take. The decision was the only decision which a worthy son and a worthy wife could take. "Come what may," answered the Dowager Maharanee, "I shall be true to the wishes of my husband." Many educated Hindu reformers have quailed on an occasion like this. But they were not true Kshatriyas like Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaj and the queen mother.

Thus passed away, leaving behind him the Mahratta nation to mourn his loss, the greatest Maharaja that ever sat on the throne of Kolhapur and one of the most powerful men that his nation ever produced in its long and brilliant history. After all that can be said against him is said, the fact remains that the Mahratta nation—I include the whole people and no particular caste in it—has never produced a greater, a bolder or a more resourceful intellect. The non-

Brahmin Mahrattas (including the untouchables) admired him, loved him and even revered him. The Brahmins could not but admire him even if they could not join the majority of their brethren in loving or respecting him. There is no wonder that they could not do so. He fought them ruthlessly, incessantly and unrelentingly. They even hated him to the same extent as the others loved him. It could not be otherwise. His very greatness, the soul of his life-work, lay in the storm and stress of a long drawn war and it would be too much to hope that the ordinary Brahmins who ranged themselves on the opposite side might look to the distant future when the movement of which he sowed the seeds so well would certainly be recognised as the greatest nationalising force in the Deccan and he, its chosen and potent instrument. Till history has its turn of pronouncing a verdict on these points, the Brahmins will continue to look upon his work with admiration mixed with anger. But they cannot deny to him an eminent position in the history of Maharashtra, though its exact and relative position with reference to that of the other great men of the Mahratta nation may be a matter of difference of opinion. Friends and foes alike honoured him with appreciative panegyrics, when he died; but perhaps the most striking appreciation was the one that his greatest opponent, the Brahmin organ of Tilak party in Poona wrote, "In matters of physical strength," said the *Kesari*, "he had special gifts from Providence. Probably there was no other Ruler in the whole of India who would be compared with him in this respect. . . . The powers of his intellect were similarly great; and there is no doubt that if he had been born in older days, the organising skill which was the peculiarity of his intellect would have enabled him to accomplish what would have given him a historic fame. Man is apt to look upon his own age as uninteresting and tasteless. But there is no doubt that a work correctly describing the extraordinary achievements, direct or indirect, in the open

and behind the curtain of his intellect, his knowledge of human nature and his strong ambition will be a very interesting work indeed. None else in the present age had probably moved the soil of the earth so deeply as Shahu Maharaja by driving the plough of his all-round intellect into religion, politics and sociology and driving it with all his authority. The people are already seeing what is the result of all his effort ; but it is as true that an intellectual awakening has taken place among many side-tracked classes of men who found in him a unique leader as it is also true that the Maharaja's indefatigable energy, his perseverance and his power to concentrate all his energies on the achievement of his goal was extraordinary. The Maharaja has provided in his life ample material suggestive of many unknown laws in the science of the human mind."

I do not propose to go beyond this except to say what I have already said so often in the preceding pages and emphasise one or two points of special importance in an appreciation of the Maharaja. The reasons why I do not think that an exhaustive, full and all-sided review of his work is possible just now are many. The most important of them is that we are still too near his times to be able to describe all the phases of his work. The men concerned are many of them living. The development of the forces he started is still incomplete. Many matters in which he was deeply interested are still in a sense *sub judice*. The publication of some material is likely to prejudice one side or other in cases of great political importance. The freedom which a historian or biographer enjoys in the case of persons whose life story has become a part of history, rousing no personal feelings and affecting no individual interest, is not possible as yet in the Maharaja's case. But after as dispassionate a consideration of his work and personality as is possible for a writer who deeply sympathised with the non-Brahmin work done by His Highness and yet has at any rate no temptation to be over-generous if he

has not indeed some reasons to be over-critical, I feel no hesitation in saying that in him the Kolhapur Raj lost its greatest Ruler and the non-Brahmin Maharashtra its most powerful inspiration.

As an individual, the Maharaja was so extraordinary a figure as to baffle most on-lookers who tried to fathom his full depths. Usually he was the simpliest and kindliest of men. Avoiding the Palaces, living in comparatively smaller and ruder houses, lying down on a hard platform of planks, dressed in a simple Dhotar and shirt and Pheta beyond which he never required anything, interested in the smallest affairs of his meanest servant or friend, kind and forgiving to most people, free in the company of the low and the rustic, willing to hear all sides and even to be rudely attacked, simplicity of nature as well as habit could hardly go further. This was in fact the greatest secret of his masterful personality. He had many enemies. But he could bring many of them under the charm of his influence. The secret of this success lay in a large measure in this trait of his character. Nature had given him in abundant proportions a rare geniality of temper which until but late in his life was never disturbed or ruffled by anything. He was indeed a bad enemy, furious and remorseless in his blows. But he was also slow to make enmities and even when he made them, he was ready to shake hands with his foes. Tolerant of others, willing to excuse the weaknesses in men, always intent on the object in view, optimistic enough to forget past wrongs if future friendship was possible, he was easily loved by as he himself loved others. Mr. Candy, Mr. Rashinkar, and Mr. Tilak may be quoted as instances. When he heard of Mr. Rashinkar's illness, he forgot that he was the leader of the Brahmin opposition in Kolhapur in 1906-07, saw him on his sick bed, helped him and cheered him up. When he heard of Mr. Tilak's illness, he wrote to his son :—

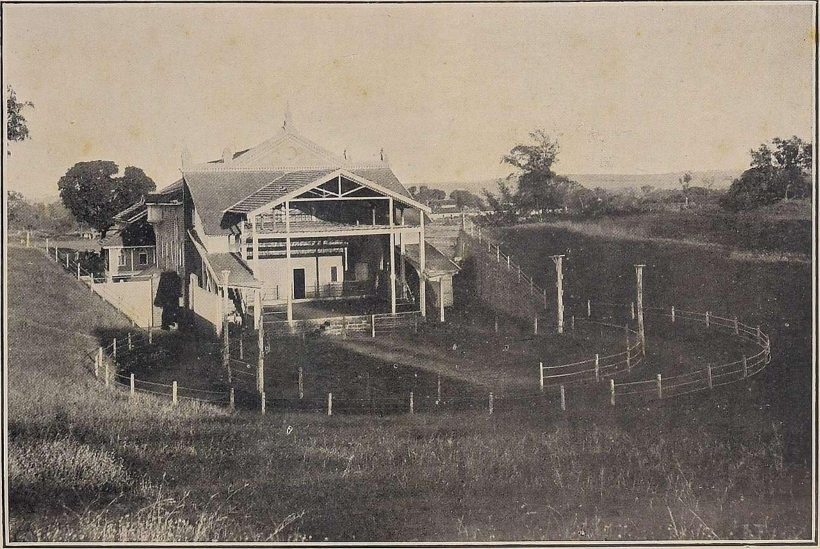
"I am extremely sorry to hear that the Lokmanya is not doing well. Please wire to me daily how he progresses. I

think he should be removed to a warm climate. I wish he comes to stay in my Bungalow at Miraj and take treatment from the skilled Doctors like Vail and Wanless and I think he will be then alright. I have sent to you Messrs. . . ."

Another little incident will illustrate his magnanimous nature. A friend who has seen the incident personally writes :—

" As is customary with most of the Maratha aristocracy, His Highness was in the habit of getting himself massaged at the time of going to bed. One night while operating the masseur fell asleep in His Highness' bed. His Highness having already been fast asleep did not know it. Gradually the masseur appropriated His Highness' quilt to himself in the sub-consciousness of sleep. It was a cold night and His Highness awoke with a shivering sensation to find that the masseur was snoring evidently in sound sleep. Without awakening him, His Highness quietly went out and to warm himself sat near the fire made by the servants outside the sleeping apartment. The masseur awoke and was surprised to find himself in his master's bed without the master whom he saw sitting by the fire outside. His feelings can better be imagined than described. He quietly slipped out of the room and was not heard of for a couple of days. His Highness sent men to find him out. At last he was brought before His Highness, He did not know what punishment awaited him. But he was agreeably surprised to find his kind master laughing and merrily describing the whole incident to the Sardars about him. Needless to say not a harsh word passed His Highness' lips and the masseur had hardly to apologise or give an explanation."

When a Marathi daily paper in Bombay belonging to the extremist school began to expose certain suspicious facts connected with public funds in the custody of Mr. Tilak and his friends, his clientele, consisting as it did of Brahmins who adored Mr. Tilak as a demi-god, fell rapidly and this was a



The Wrestlers' Arena at Kolhapur.

serious threat to the very existence of the paper. Appreciating the honesty of purpose of the editor of this paper, His Highness gave him a loan through a common friend. A few days later His Highness came to hear that the paper was suffering in popularity owing to its partial championing of the non-Brahmin cause of His Highness. He hastened immediately to write to the editor not to write anything of the kind and incur any injury to his popularity. After some time, it was found that the same paper began to write against His Highness. With a promissory note in his hands from the editor, what did His Highness do? He wrote to the common friend in whose name the Note stood to cancel it immediately, lest "we might be tempted some day to demand the amount of the Note through a feeling of revenge. Let us leave no room for such a desire for revenge ever arising in us."

A lady student of the Grant Medical College, Miss S., proposed to His Highness that she should be given a loan to enable her to proceed for study in America on the security of a bond from her brother who owned property. "I do not wish," he wrote to her, "to make a slave of your brother by taking a bond from him for your education." He signified to her his readiness to give the loan if she insured her own life in his favour. But this too did not mean in fact that he expected the loan to be paid back. Usually he insisted upon making his donations conditional in one way or other only to avoid the impression that the assistance was cheap which led to the impression that it might be frittered away as easily as it was obtained.

His generous nature never shone brighter than when he was subjected to strong criticism by an injured man. B. Y., a Satya Shodhak enthusiast, once got wild with the priests. The Maharaja took him to task for this loss of temper. Some time later, he attacked the Maharaja for being too much Brahmin-ridden. At once the blood of the Maharaja boiled within him and he repudiated the charge vehemently. 'You

are a fool and your talk is nonsense,' said the Maharaja. "Who is a greater fool?" asked the enthusiast quietly "—the man who says a bitter truth or the man who preaches self-control to others and yet does not control his own temper?" The Maharaja laughed outright for many minutes. Instances of this kind may be multiplied to any extent. But I cannot help quoting an incident for which Rao Saheb Tengshe is responsible and which brings out the kindliness of his temper very vividly. "One peculiarity about him," says he, "was that nobody could move his emotions greatly. I read to him once about 1903, an article in a Marathi paper describing his exploits and his skill in restoring the stolen property of a poor woman to her. I could detect no feeling on his face at all. But another article of the very paper giving the story of a famine-stricken farmer I read to him and it brought a flood of tears in his eyes and I was made to read it thrice during that week."

The same kindly feeling in him enabled him to enjoy the endless confusion and worry caused to him by all sorts of ignorant and rude people about him. "It was his deep enjoyment and most sympathetic understanding of the human side in all those with whom he came into contact," to use the words of Sir George Lloyd, "that his character, to my mind, derived its chief strength and charm." A man would go to him with a story of his quarrel with his wife or some other woman in his house. Another dunned him with a complaint against a rival who had possibly a little while earlier told him a long tale of his counter-complaints. A third one might be actually engaged in a quarrel within his hearing. A fourth and more important man stood by his side to report about some duty entrusted to him. Yet another man brought to him news of a conspiracy against himself. And in this way scores of people surrounded him from early morning to late in the evening. He heard them quietly and attentively and did what was in his own view right or necessary. But not a

word of annoyance escaped him and not a frown stole over his genial face. And amidst all these varied pre-occupations, he never ignored anything small or great. Though he might decide to refuse many a request, his wonderful attentiveness and retentiveness enabled him years afterwards to recall almost everything of any consequence and to contradict any one who changed his ground or made an inconsistent demand. Good nature must also make a humorous nature; and His Highness was full of humour. A Sardar called on him once and His Highness asked him whether the part of the country he came from, abounded with scorpions. The Sardar took the question literally and replied that there were scorpions on that side but not many. His Highness said he thought it must be full of scorpions if two could have crept on to his face! The Sardar had his moustaches twisted and stiffened with pomatum. A few years ago, a few outsiders visited His Highness through one G. and the whole party was sitting for tea at His Highness' table. G. was evidently interested in creating on the visitors an impression of his own great influence with the Maharaja. "Do you know the story of the elephant and the cock," he asked the guests. When they said 'No', His Highness began: "Both of them were kept by a common master and lived together like friends. The cock however began to think that it was an equal of the elephant and just to show its hen and chicken that it was so it began to prick him with its beak. The elephant put up with this presumptuousness for a while; but when it began to grow somewhat offensive," said His Highness looking towards G., "he quietly placed his leg upon the cock and began to press it slowly. Its piteous cries saved him from being crushed in a moment but never again did the cock assume airs of equality with the friendly elephant." The visitors laughed heartily though G. had to hang down his head in confusion.

Can overpowering ambition fit in well with these lighter veins of human nature? Their co-existence in one man is

certainly possible; for, a better illustration of this could not be found than in His Highness himself. He was one of the few men in the world who are born for some one purpose which is the one great ambition of their lives and to which they can make everything subservient. To take an extreme case, Aurangzebe is represented as a pious man by all his contemporaries and yet he was cruel even to his father and brothers. Was it the result of a somewhat incongruous mixture of two parallel currents in one and the same men? An ambitious nature degenerates into childish presumptuousness when it goes without those various qualities of the head and the heart which are the indispensable instruments of successful achievements. Amidst all his numerous lighter engagements, there was one continuous, strong, ever present thread of purposefulness and whenever the needs—the paramount needs—of his dominant ambition required it, his whole nature lost its lightness and became one pliant tool at the disposal of a masterful will determined to live and die for one and only one purpose. He would not spare even his own self, much less anything else, when that goal of his life could be reached only by a sacrifice of what may have been dear and near to him. The greatest human landmarks in history—men whose deeds leave behind them great results and great memories—are distinguished by this readiness to sacrifice everything, good or bad, for the attainment of one great purpose. It is often difficult, sometimes impossible, to say whether such natures are in any sense selfish or selfless. They are so intensely given to it that their devotion to it cannot be selfish. It becomes so closely identified with them that its achievement cannot be selfless. Whatever that may be, the mixture becomes often ununderstandable and inexplicable in the light of ordinary psychological laws.

What then was the central idea around which His Highness life continually revolved? I think I have said enough in this book to suggest what it was and it is unnecessary to

go beyond what I have said. The rehabilitation of the Kolhapur State and through it of the glories of the Mahratta nation, though obviously in a modified form, was one great part of the work which he deliberately assigned to himself at the outset of his career and standing now at a distance of nearly three decades we can easily decide for ourselves how far he has succeeded. He realised from the start that his whole ambition was bound up with the British Government to whom he was loyal in every sense of the word. As a Prince as a sincerely loyal ruler in the British Empire, as a non-Brahmin who wished to assert himself, he was placed under numberless limitations. It is indeed not easy to give the reader a full idea of the difficulties which this involved. I have felt every moment of the time I have spent over this book, as my readers must have also felt while reading, that the time for a full appreciation of those difficulties is yet to come. But one can easily imagine them from the nature of the task and the circumstances in which the Maharaja had to find out his way to his goal. He had in the first place to make his own position sure in a State which he rightly described as the 'mother of minorities'. He had to subdue the numerous forces which impeded the full use of his own powers. His State was at the lowest possible ebb of its prestige when he took up the reins of power. Misfortunes of all kinds has conspired to place Kolhapur—the embodiment of Mahratta greatness and glories—lower down in the rank of Indian States than many a petty Chiefship in the country. His feudatories had come to look upon the suzerain powers of the Chhatrapati as a myth. His officers looked upon the new Raja as their own creation—to be turned into a puppet in their own hands. An attempt to increase influence was likely to be misconstrued in various ways and it was so misconstrued for some time. No accusation was too absurd to be made against him. He and his *alter ego*, Bapusaheb, were suggested to have had a hand in the seditious activities of the Shivaji Club. The

history of Malharrao Gaikwad was sought to be repeated in Kolhapur and His Highness, his brother and officers stood on the brink of being hauled up on a charge of attempting to poison his Resident. The moment he introduced a few non-Brahmins in his service, he was snubbed on all sides and the first officer in the State told him that the course he was adopting would land him in great difficulties. His best friends were told that he disliked his European Officers. The powerful Brahmin community refused to him the mere status of a Kshatriya, for, they insisted that he was socially no more than a helot. What strength, what moral support, could he then expect from quarters which despised him as a Sudra whom fortuitous circumstances had placed in power? His people, the great Mahratta nation, was lying low in the dust. History, for which he had displayed a liking even when he was a boy, had taught him what misfortunes had been heaped upon his ancestors by the intrigues and treachery of their own creatures. He had vividly realised how the non-Brahmin warriors and statesmen of Shivaji and Rajaram had been blown away like chaff by the stormy hurricane of Brahmanical cunning. He had before him the fate of Chhatrapatis reduced to imprisonment, his own ancestors driven within the walls of their own city and, out of it, to the protection of a hill fortress for the very safety of their lives. The intrigues and factions of his own Court stood before him in all their naked hideousness, reducing the power and prestige of the Chhatrapatis to a shadow.

Standing at the very bottom of a steep ascent, his path bestrewn with dangers and impediments, heavy clouds threatening him with a storm from overhead almost every moment, he began to trudge on. What do we find in 1922, when Providence directed him to lay down the reins? The State was restored to a great part of its prestige. He was his own master in the affairs of his State. The machinery he had to use was completely transformed. The clouds had largely

dispersed. Loved by his suzerain, loved by his people, dreaded by his opponents, the idol of thousands of his countrymen, the saviour of the fallen and the depressed, he died a powerful man, a powerful ruler, a powerful reformer, the champion of the non-Brahmins and the man who laid the foundations of democracy in the Deccan. I do not for a moment forget the defects in his work. But, in a large measure they were unavoidable defects. Contending with adverse forces, no one could have done the work he did without committing many of the mistakes he committed. In his private life, he allowed many people to deceive him. He knew that the explanation given was a lie. He knew that the money he was paying would be misappropriated. He knew that the reward he was giving was undeserved. He knew that his punishments were sometimes unmerited. But he allowed the deceiver to go under the impression that his fraud was successful. In his public career, the same experience was often repeated. Making allowance for all human defects, I feel sure that in the position in which he stood and with the task which he undertook to perform, no one could have avoided many of his mistakes and many of the defects in his public work. But with all that, he accomplished for the State and for the non-Brahmins what none but a great man could have accomplished. It has been said that he was a mere flatterer of the British Officers, a hater of Swarajya, an unscrupulous man wanting in all or most of the higher impulses of greatness. Knowing fully as I do all that may be said in support of these charges and recognising as I do that His Highness had to use many instruments which many people had reason to dislike and avoid, I have no hesitation in saying that he was inspired by ambitions which the history of Kolhapur and the history of the Mahratta people will undoubtedly adjudge as great and noble. In the annals of the world, pure saintliness has unfortunately rarely been able to conquer political opponents. Faced with the intrigues which reduced

Shahu of Satara to impotence and which leagued together in an unholy alliance to depose the last of Shahu's line for no fault of his other than that of being good and self-assertive, His Highness could not but follow a policy which made him open to various criticisms. I will not try to justify everything. But I do think that he was inspired by a high purpose and brought to its accomplishment qualities which have been the privileges of only a few among mankind. His success was also great—great in view of the difficulties he had to overcome, the dangers he had to avoid and the circumstances he had to contend with. That success, though certainly far from being complete, was so great and so fruitful to the Kolhapur State that to him the State will be bound to remain grateful during all time to come. Perfection is never reached and his successor has certainly ample work to do along the path which his father had chosen. But there can be no doubt that His late Highness carried forward the State a very, very long way and left it greater, stronger, more prosperous and more hopeful than it was ever before.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Personal Reminiscences.

BY SIR S. M. FRASER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

IT is thirty-four years since I took up my duties as Tutor and Guardian to His Highness the late Maharaja of Kolhapur, his brother Bapu Sahib, the Chief of Kagal, and Kunwar Bhavsinhji, the son and heir of H. H. Raval Takhtsinhji, the then Thakore Sahib of Bhavnagar. Why the Government of Bombay appointed an officer of the Indian Civil Service to take charge of the training and education of the minor Maharaja, then fifteen years of age; how each year was spent—the term time at Dharwar and the holidays at Kolhapur; the nature of my young charges, studies and their progress; the three long tours we made over the length and breadth of the Indian Continent; all these matters are, I see, described in the earlier chapters of this book. My own task, therefore, is limited to recalling a few of the happy memories interwoven with my lifelong friendship with the late Maharaja.

Looking back in the light of a long experience of the Native States of India, I realize how singularly fortunate my charges and I were in the circumstances of our association. A happier family of boys, as it turned out, could not have been brought together; congenial in their common tastes, although of course different in their characters, and destined one and all to carry on unbroken through life the friendship knit in their boyhood days. They and I alike were lucky also in the staff of Assistant Tutors which I gathered to assist me, and it will be seen that their number included two gentlemen who subsequently held and,—one rejoices to think—are still holding the highest positions in the States of Kolhapur and

Bhavnagar respectively. And, thirdly, it would be less than grateful if I omitted to record the debt which the Maharaja and I both owed to my dear old friend, Colonel Charles Wodehouse, the wise and genial Political Agent of Kolhapur under whose orders I served, an officer as helpful in all that concerned the welfare of the minor Maharaja as he was faithful in guiding the administration of the State in trust for the day when the future ruler should take over his inheritance.

Before speaking more particularly about his late Highness, let me amplify a little the description of his companions and their surroundings. First to say a few words about Kunwar Bhavsinhji who brought with him one boy friend and a small retinue of Musahebs and servants. It might seem rather an experiment to join a party of Rajputs from Kathiawar with the Maratha establishment from Kolhapur, placing the two under a young Englishman in Dharwar far away in the south of the Bombay Presidency. But a variety of circumstances made the experiment prove a success. The Kunwar Sahib of Bhavnagar had already become friends with the Maharaja and his companions during the time they spent together as small boys at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, and the feeling between them, as they grew older, happily developed into an almost brotherly affection. Bhavsinhji, who was smaller made physically and, perhaps, younger for his age, entertained the greatest admiration for the strength and skill of his Maratha companions as sportsmen with horse, hound, gun and rifle. Following their example, he developed the same tastes, and though he never acquired as strong a seat across country, the Kunwar became a fair horseman and a capital shot. Like the others he never minded how far he walked or rode in search of sport, and his letters in later years showed that he kept up his love of shooting in his Kathiawar home. For games he had more aptitude than the rest, and he turned out quite a good tennis player, while indoors he was always the life and soul of the party. Once or twice a week all the boys

used to come over to my house after dinner to play games with my wife and myself, and our evenings would not have been as cheery as they were had it not been for the fun of Bhavsinhji who was well supported by his companion, Kalubha, and like him had some taste for music. Who of us that remain—now alas! bereft of both our Maharajas—but will smile when he recalls the impersonations of the Kunwar at Charades and his dramatic tricks which kept the company in fits of laughter? In fact, though Bhavsinhji could not claim to be a greater light in the class-room than the others, his mercurial temperament and good humour were a great asset to the whole party. The ties formed were never allowed to weaken, and when in the course of time he succeeded his father on the *Gadi* of Bhavnagar, he and the Maharaja of Kolhapur visited each other not infrequently and kept up an unbroken intercourse. I, too, enjoyed his continued friendship. We met at intervals, whenever opportunity offered, and corresponded regularly right up to the date of his untimely death in 1919. His letters were particularly characteristic in later days of his proud affection for his wife and children, and he delighted to keep us posted with the progress of his accomplished daughter (now H. H. the Maharani Sahiba of Panna). This is not the place to dwell upon his record as Thakore Sahib and Maharaja of Bhavnagar and the honours he received from the Imperial Government. But, suffice it to say, that, if his development seemed somewhat slow as a boy, Bhavsinhji grew into a man of sterling character, and like his friend, Sir Shahu Chattrapati Maharaja, he proved an ornament of his Order as an example of active loyalty to his King-Emperor and of dutiful devotion to the interest of his subjects.

Bhavsinhji would have been the first to admit how much his success in life was due to the fact that fortune sent as one of the Assistant Tutors under me at Dharwar a certain young man, named P. D. Pattani, who subsequently held various offices in Bhavnagar culminating with the Dewanship

of the State. The later career of my distinguished friend, Sir Prabhashanker Dalpatram Pattani, K.C.I.E., is well-known—as member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay and of the Council of India—and no well-wisher of Bhavnagar but will rejoice that the same well-tried statesman should now be President of the Council of Administration during the minority of poor Bhavsinhji's young son. Equally fortunate, it is here appropriate to mention, was the Maharaja of Kolhapur to find in his Tutor, Mr. R. V. Sabnis (now Rao Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, C.I.E.) an officer who served him as Dewan for twenty-four years. Loyal, able and upright, it is most gratifying to know that Mr. Sabnis still holds the same responsible office under H. H. Rajaram Chattrapati Maharaja, the son of his old pupil, friend and master.

Let me now deal with the members of the Kolhapur party and begin with Dattajirao Ingle. Little Dattaji, as one always thinks of him, was the smallest but the cleverest of all the boys, and we should unanimously have put him forward as our show scholar. Capable all round and deservedly popular and trusted, it is not to be wondered at that Dattajirao Ingle has spent his life in the service of Bapu Sahib, Chief of Kagal, and is now his Private Secretary. An earlier chapter mentions the distinguished history of the Ghatge family, from which Shahu Chattrapati was adopted into the house of Shivaji. His two principal companions were his brother, Pirajirao, *alias* Bapu Sahib Ghatge, the Chief of Kagal (Senior), who was two years younger than the Maharaja and his natural uncle Bala Sahib Ghatge, the Chief of Kagal (Junior), generally known as Kaka Sahib, who was born in the same year as His Highness. Both these noblemen are happily still pillars of the State in Kolhapur. Of Kaka Sahib I will only say that he had the distinction of being the most studious of the three, fonder of reading and less addicted to field sports, characteristics which made their contribution to the general equipment of our circle.

Bapu Sahib was pre-eminently our man of action. Quiet and rather reserved in manner, his was a strong personality which exercised great influence over all his companions. The leader in every sport, Bapu Sahib was a really fine horseman, graceful as well as strong, and a fine shot with both gun and rifle. Like the late Nizam of Hyderabad, he was one of those rare marksmen who could hit with a rifle a rupee tossed into the air. I have seen him do it. Even then he was a keen judge of the points of a horse, but we had nothing to do with racing, even of the mildest description, and I cannot pretend that his Dharwar days contributed in any way to the subsequent fame of "Mr. R. R. S." on the turf or helped him to win, as he did, the Viceroy's Cup! At the same time, Bapu Sahib was a great deal more than an all-round sportsman. From an early age he manifested a capacity for judging a situation with independence as well as common sense, and when he expressed an opinion, he stuck to it. I had not the privilege of knowing his father, Aba Sahib, who made such a mark as Regent of Kolhapur from 1882 to 1885, but comparing the descriptions his friends gave of him, it is clear that in Bapu Sahib he left a son of similar character, capacity and temperament. This I should have said, even had I not known so intimately the Chief of Kagal's career and the invaluable support which his wisdom and courage enabled him to give to his brother in the troublous times the Maharaja was destined to battle with. A more devoted pair of brothers it would be impossible to find. There were no secrets between them. Bapu Sahib was as proud of His Highness as the Maharaja was of Bapu Sahib, and each instinctively thought of the other, his *alter ego*, as soon as of himself alike in all the troubles and the joys of their closely united lives. It is history repeating itself providentially that so steadfast, experienced and devoted a counsellor in the person of Sir Pirajirao Ghatge, should be standing by to help the present young ruler of Kolhapur, when last year the heavy responsibility devolved

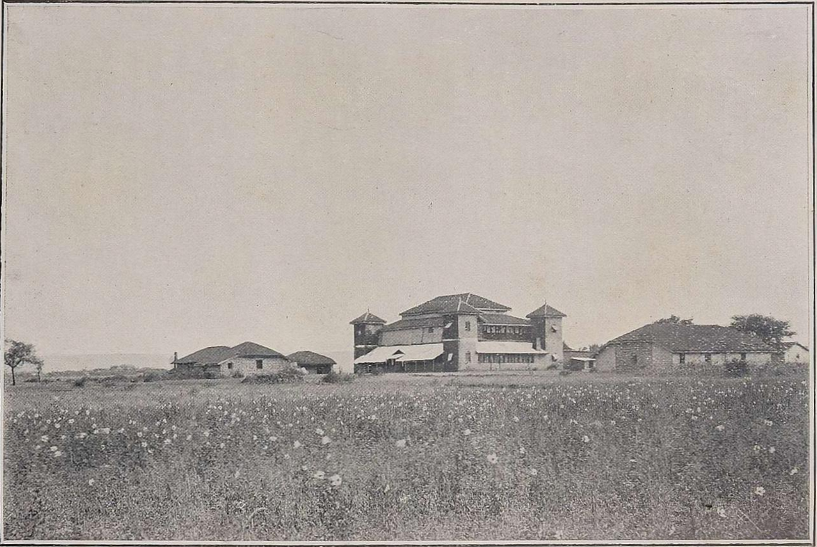
upon him of filling the place left vacant by the death of Maharaja Sir Shahu Chattrapati.

Of Bapu Sahib it may perhaps be more truly said than of his brother that the child is father to the man in the sense that the featuresof his full charactermanifested themselves at an earlier age. Not that the Maharaja's was a complex personality. On the contrary, his characteristics were those of a simple, generous, affectionate and truthful nature, qualities which lay upon the surface from the first day I knew him. What it did not at first appear so likely to predict of him were the strength of will, the mental capacity to sustain a controversial fight, and the altruistic devotion to duty, which never choosing the line of least resistance or considering his own peace of mind, he displayed when championing the cause of the depressed classes against the most powerful of all vested interests. It was soon apparent that the Maharaja would never make a book scholar, and, to tell the truth, His Highness found the ordinary school curriculum heavy going. But though there was at first little promise of the powers of mind which he afterwards developed, even then the Maharaja realized the value of education. He was never a shirker and when we progressed to lectures on subjects specially adapted to this future career as a ruler, his interest quickened and was reinforced by his desire to befit himself for his high position. The problem of educating anyone who is to succeed to the responsibility of ruling others at the early age of nineteen is necessarily difficult—there is so much to teach and so little time to do it in —and the method must vary with the idiosyncracy of the pupil. The Maharaja was a boy who learned slowly from books, but he brought a fund of practical common sense to his aid in learning from his observation of the people he met and the things he saw. His long tours in India and in his own State before his accession were therefore a particularly valuable part of his education, and I venture to believe that our constant daily association for five years, not only in the

class-room but in morning rides, in shikar expeditions and in camp, with no retinue to stand between us, sowed the seeds of principles and ideals which proved helpful later on when His Highness found himself grappling with the difficulties of policy and administration. The simplicity of his mode of life was a distinct advantage. And here I must record my obligation to Their Highnesses the two widowed Maharanis, for allowing me so free a hand when satisfied, as they soon were, that I was as anxious as they for the household of my charges to be conducted by their Indian tutors on the strictest lines of caste and religious orthodoxy. None of the boys for example took so much as a cup of tea in my house, and even on shooting trips they eat their lunch under one tree and I under another.

In personal appearance the Maharaja was a tall, burly, handsome type of his race, and it was not due to slothfulness or self-indulgence that a hereditary tendency later on defeated his efforts to keep down his weight. His Highness possessed all a country gentlemen's love of field-sports, and, if destiny had not willed otherwise, I can picture him contentedly spending his days as a squire of the patriarchal type, a gentleman farmer devoted to his horses and dogs and interested in every kind of agricultural pursuit. There was no form of sport that Shahu Chattrapati did not pursue with keenness and unsparing exertion. He loved horses both to ride and drive. Every day saw him in the saddle, and crossing and pigsticking were perhaps what he liked best of all. In spite of his weight, he rode hard and fearlessly, and his companions will recall one memorable pigsticking expedition we made near Hubli, when His Highness after beginning with a first spear, fell heavily in some bad ground with his horse, which broke its leg. It was a favourite white waler and the lad grieved when it had to be shot, for he was devoted to his horses and all animals. A master at training and driving teams of various kinds, he drove tandem, three and four-in-

hand, and it was almost a circus performance to steer a team of six horses, as he did, through the narrow streets of Kolhapur City. As an instance of his activity, it is worth recording that in May 1905 he covered the hundred and ten miles between his capital and Mahaleshwar in nine hours, including stoppages, all on horseback and mostly after nightfall. For dogs of all kinds he had a passion, and it comes back to me how a favourable first impression about their new Tutor and Guardian was created when this youthful charges heard that he too kept some good greyhounds! We did a lot of coursing by way of morning exercise—the variety of their tastes rendered this item on the programme anything but a dull routine—and in later years the Maharaja and Bapu Sahib collected a miscellaneous pack which performed on one occasion the unique feat of accounting for a fullgrown tiger, that happened to be found lying up in a field of sugarcane. Dharwar in those days offered some of the best small-game shooting in the Presidency over the undulating country towards the Kanara border, and joyfully did the Maharaja and all his companions avail themselves of their opportunities. Nearly every Sunday and holiday the whole party would be away at daybreak under the special charge of Buwa Sahib Ingle, a fine old-fashioned Maratha gentleman, true as steel and a thoroughly experienced sportsman, in whom I had every confidence. Seldom did evening see them return without a really good mixed bag of quail, snipe, partridges and hares with a few ducks, and Bapu Sahib will remember the red-letter day when in addition they drove home with a panther, which was encountered when they chanced to meet a party of Bedars, who were hunting wild pig with their dogs. Tigers, too, were to be found within driving distance, and if this were the place, a story might be told of the old tiger, which having broken back and escaped in some fifteen beats, was at last one day driven up to the guns by Hirugade Havildar, the Maratha shikari, who had vowed in his temple not to sleep outside the



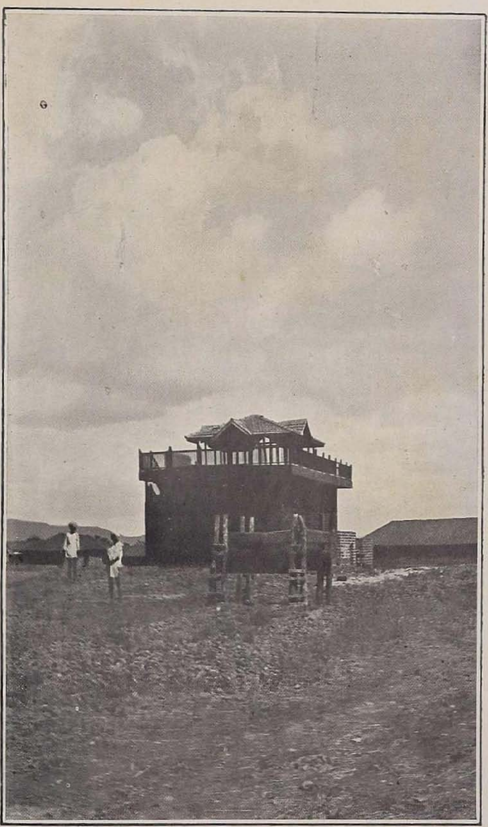
The Rajaputwadi Bunglow.

jungle until that tiger had been slain! Again, which of us will forget that holiday in the Kolhapur Ghat country when we shot some thirty couple of quail in the morning and a tigress in the afternoon? Hawking was another sport at which the Maharaja was expert, and he owned falcons trained not only to fly at kites, but to stoop at bustard, which in those days were not uncommon in the black-soil country. Lastly, His Highness was one of the comparatively few Indian Princes who kept up enthusiastically the old-fashioned sport of hunting black buck with cheetas.

Sport to him, it should be understood, was never a mere matter of riding out, accompanied by a retinue, to spend a few hours in killing something with the minimum of personal difficulty and discomfort. He loved to rough it on foot, to discuss the *khabar* with the shikaris, and personally to direct the beat and the posting of the stops. Most of all he loved the life in the fields and jungles among the ryots and humble folk, who knew nothing of Durbar manners, to mix with them talking their rough Maratha patois, and thus to learn at first hand their wants, their grievances and their ways of thought. And learn all this he did at an early age as few Ruling Princes are able to do, and with a sympathy and comprehension that stood him in good stead when he came to tackle his life work of bettering the social condition of the masses. The Maharaja did not always do himself justice on formal occasions with strangers, when he was apt to be shy and awkward. He was a man whom it depressed, if he had to bother about the neatness of his turban and his attire, and you saw him as he really was, light-hearted and full of ideas and information, when he was away from the Palace and the City. His Highness afterwards built himself a very characteristic country retreat, a short distance out of Kolhapur, which I visited for the first time in 1920. Here he delighted to spend such leisure as he could spare amid the surroundings of his home farm. His own sleeping and living rooms were of almost ascetic

bareness, and there was no luxury of any kind about the building. But animals of all sorts were carefully provided for, and he was never happier than when showing you the paddock with his stud-bred horses, his herd of special milk cattle, his sheep, goats, greyhounds and hunting cheetas and his hawks and falcons collected from all parts of India. To see the home of a man's own creation helps even a stranger to an insight into his character, but to me no such evidence was needed to show that twenty-six years of rule, full of disappointments and anxiety had left the Maharaja with the same almost rustic simplicity and dislike of ostentation, combined with the same open affectionate disposition as when we were both a quarter of a century younger.

It is almost superfluous to add that Shahu Chattrapati was good-natured and generous to all about him and that he was rewarded by the devotion of his associates. Nor was the affection he showed his friends the outcome of a mere superficial amiability. No man was ever more constant and the lapse of years made little difference with him. Personal reminiscences tend, I fear, to seem more egotistic than one would wish, but it is from our own experiences that I can best illustrate the kind of boy and man he was. Few were the occasions that my wife and I left Bombay for England on leave without the Maharaja making the long journey from Kolhapur to see us off, and I do not remember a single time when he was not on the pier to greet us as we landed when returning to India. Let me relate briefly one more incident which was so characteristic of my old friend's unconventional warmth of heart. One of our daughters was to be married from the Hyderabad Residency in November 1916, and the Maharaja of Kolhapur was among the guests to whom invitations were sent. Not unexpectedly, he wrote regretting his inability to come, but at ten o'clock on the night before the wedding a telegram from His Highness reached me to say that he was arriving by special train at half past six the follow-



Resting place of His Highness, Rajputwadi.

ing morning! As we shook hands on the platform it was with these words that Sir Shahu Chattrapati Maharaja greeted me: "Pardon me for turning up like this without giving you proper notice and for all the trouble I am causing. I can easily live in my railway carriage, if there is any difficulty about putting me up, but at the last moment I felt simply I could not let your daughter, whom I knew as a little girl in Kolhapur be married without my being there. So I ordered a train and here I am with my two sons. In the circumstances H.E.H. the Nizam will, I am sure, forgive my lack of ceremony in thus entering his State." His Highness was present in the Church at the ceremony that afternoon, and,—kindly overlooking the deficiencies of hastily prepared accommodation—he stayed on for two days, the most welcome of guests to us all. The mention of this incident is justified, I think, because it throws a flash light—more illuminating than any attempt to describe why we loved the Maharaja—on his affectionate impulsiveness which time would never chill.

My last recollections are of the farewell visit to Kolhapur, which we paid in fulfilment of a long promise not to leave India without seeing something of the changes effected since the Maharaja's accession, twenty-six years before. The impression of those few days in February 1920, which we spent in the company of our old circle of friends, improving acquaintance too with the Maharaja's son and heir, will never fade from our memory. Averse though he was from ceremonial for himself, His Highness nevertheless had characteristically determined that this occasion should be celebrated in no merely private fashion. The Maharaja, Bapu Sahib, Bala Sahib, Dattajirao Ingle and many others came as far as Miraj to meet us; the local officials with the village bands were assembled at each station *en route* to offer fruit and flowers in the old-fashioned way; and, on arriving at Kolhapur we were touched to find that H. H. the Maharani Sahiba herself, with the ladies of her family, was waiting in *purdah* at the

station to greet my wife and daughter, a programme quite beyond any precedent or anticipation, as the hand which drew it up intended it should be. Every function arranged had special interest for us, revisiting Kolhapur after such a long absence, but the most memorable of all was the great public meeting when addresses of welcome were presented by eleven educational bodies, in the course of which they referred to His Highness' successful efforts to encourage education by founding hostels for every caste among his subjects. Looking over an old newspaper account of the proceedings, it seems to me the Maharaja's speech justifies quotation almost in full for the reference it contains to his ambitions for the social reform of his people. And I have ventured to include a portion of my own reply to the addresses, since I cannot better express my recollections of the Maharaja's work, the wide range of his sympathies, the difficulties which beset his path and the substantial measure of success which had already attended his efforts.

In opening the meeting His Highness said :—

"It is after a quarter of a century, Sir Stuart Fraser, that you have returned to Kolhapur and I welcome you most cordially. When I see Lady Fraser and yourself once more among us, happy recollections of the joyous time we had with you are brought back to me, and I feel as though that delightful period of boyhood had come back again. I consider myself very lucky indeed that you have been able to pay us a visit, short as it has been, before your departure from India. It has given you an opportunity of seeing what fruit the pains you took with your pupil have borne. There is no doubt that Kolhapur has vastly changed since you saw it last. It is for you to judge in what direction the change has been. During all this time it has been my earnest wish and constant endeavour to do everything in my power to educate the masses, to inspire them with a higher standard of life, to root out superstition and with it the causes that have lead to the singularly artificial

state of our society—the inequalities between man and man that we see on all sides. The task is not easy nor the work light. The inertia of ages has to be overcome, and the old order of things has to be changed out and out. What part I have played in bringing this about, at least partially, it is not for me to say. If I have succeeded in any small measure, the credit belongs to those who have heartily worked with me. Foremost among them is my beloved brother, Bapu Sahib, without whose help I do not know what I should have done. The social and religious reformer has also come to my aid, and I will not hesitate to acknowledge the great value of the work done by the Christian Missionaries in my State and especially by the American Mission. They have made men of the very dregs of society and have set a unique example of self-sacrifice and selfless devotion to duty. The object lesson cannot be lost on one who has eyes to see. This is not the place or time to go into details of the measures introduced by me to carry out the end in view. You have heard and seen enough to give you a fairly accurate idea of what is and has yet to be done. Before the latter the former is but a drop in the ocean. The great War has opened our eyes. The last four years have witnessed the fall of the most despotic autocracies in the world, and unless we in India profit by the lesson worse evils may have to be faced by us, and that is why I feel the crushing weight of the heavy work now before the Indian Ruling Prince, and I trust the moral fibre you have helped to develop in me may prove sufficiently strong to bear the strain."

My reply ran thus :—

"I little thought when my old friend the Maharaja invited me to pay a farewell visit to Kolhapur that I should find myself charged with the task of receiving and replying to a number of addresses from educational bodies in the presence of a great gathering of the people of the city. I must confess that at first I shrank from accepting a position

which on the face of it appears somewhat anomalous for a purely private visitor to occupy. But when I realized the character of your addresses, it would have been more than churlish to decline, and I am pleased and proud to be here this afternoon, for this reason that these speeches, though you have been kind enough to address them to me, are really a tribute of your gratitude to your Maharaja. This tribute has been nobly earned and cannot find too wide an utterance. So I am delighted that the presence among you of His Highness' old tutor and guardian should serve as the occasion for you to manifest your feelings for your Ruler.

* * *

To return for a moment to the subject of your addresses. It is a commonplace to-day that the greatest need of India is better and wider spread of education, whether from the point of view of the moral and material uplift of the people, or (in British India) of their capacity to work successfully the reformed scheme of Government, which is now being introduced. None will deny this principle, but the special merit of His Highness the Chattrapati Maharaja, so it seems to me, is that for long years past he has made it his chief and personal aim in life to improve the condition of the masses, and, as a means to this end, has not only multiplied schools but has carried the gift of education to those classes which were too apathetic to seek of their own exertion the facilities provided for all alike without distinction of caste and creed. No Indian Prince has from the first displayed a more great-hearted sympathy with every class of his subjects, realizing that he is equally the father of the low caste and the high caste, of the Mahomedans and of the Indian Christians, as well as of the Hindus. And as a wise father recognizes a special duty towards the weak rather than the strong among his children, His Highness' policy has been specially to uplift the backward classes by encouraging them to share in the educational advantages enjoyed heretofore solely by their more favoured

brethren. Agelong prejudices deep-rooted in the Indian social system make this a gigantic task and one which no individual can hope to complete in his lifetime. But with His Highness it has not been a case of mere aspirations for the future, and all that one Prince of courage, energy and determination to overcome difficulties could do, your Maharaja has done. To a Kolhapur audience it would be superfluous to repeat the many directions his activities have taken. To-day we are concerned only with one branch of his educational policy, the provision of hostels to enable poor students from the outlying villages to avail themselves of the superior schools in the capital, which would otherwise lie beyond their reach. Many of these hostels the Maharaja has taken me to see, and two days ago with characteristic thoughtfulness for his old Guru, he invited me to lay the foundation-stone of a new hostel for Mahomedans. To-day you have heard the testimony of no less than eleven branches of the community, which owe the creation of their hostels to the Chattrapati Maharaja's encouragement and liberality. The Gaud Saraswat Brahmins—The Mahomedan Education Society—The Panchal Brahmin Community—The Miss Clarke Hostel for the so-called untouchable classes—The Namdev Community—The Victoria Maratha Students' Institution—The Daivdnya Community—The Dakshin Maharashtra Veershaiv Association—The Digamber Jain Students—The Kayastha Prabhu Students—The Indian Christians, all these have spoken in turn to prove the progress already achieved. Land, sites, money and materials have been freely given to all—Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike.

* * *

It is thirty-one years since I came to Kolhapur, but the Maharaja and I have been close friends ever since, and knowing him both as man and boy, it has been a temptation to dwell on his heart of gold and his strong virile personality, which embodies so many of the finest Maratha characteristics. As you

have remarked, His Highness is indeed fortunate in his brother, Sir Pirajirao Ghatge, Chief of Kagal, and the Kolhapur State also is happy in possessing two such leaders, who in their life-long devotion for one another, might be compared, if they would let me do so, to Rama and Laxman, the venerated hero-brothers of the Ramayana. I cannot conclude with a better wish for your institutions than to hope they may assist in fulfilling His Highness' object of providing more and more that equality of opportunity for the individual, in whatever class of life he may be born, which underlies the Chattrapati Maharaja's truly democratic ideal for the State Providence has called upon him to rule."

When three months later we left India for good, once more the Maharaja and all our old Kolhapur friends came down to Bombay to see us off. Our last talk the morning we sailed was about his proposed participation in meetings outside his State to ventilate the cause of the depressed classes, for no amount of vituperation in the Press could deter him from carrying on the campaign, even in spheres where it would have been no shirking of his mission had he left the platform to others. We were not destined, alas! to meet again. The last letter to reach me in England from the Maharaja described the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to Poona, and was the more interesting because, little though he dwelt upon his own exertions, the success which attended that visit at a time of unrest was largely due to the Maharaja's personal influence with the Maratha population of the surrounding districts and the way he exercised it. Most loyally he rejoiced in the welcome given to His Royal Highness by the Mahrattas and it was pure pleasure to him to do what he did. Not long afterwards Sir Shahu Chattrapati Maharaj passed away suddenly in his prime, and thousands of his countrymen must have felt that with him they lost the light which had begun to illumine a world of new possibilities. His loss to India is indeed hard to over-estimate, for as a social reformer

he occupied a niche by himself among the Ruling Princes of India and the gap caused by his death is to be measured not only by what he achieved but by the magnitude of the work which still remains to be done. But he kindled a torch in the Maratha Country, which others must and I believe will handon. Its light can never now be extinguished and his name will not be forgotten among the people he loved and served.

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